SCOTLAND READS AN AMERICAN BOOK: THE INTERNATIONAL CIRCULATION OF VIOLENCE, NATION, AND RACE DURING THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

A Dissertation

by

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Submitted to the Office of Graduate and Professional Studies of
Texas A&M University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

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December 2019

Major Subject: English

ABSTRACT

Travel abroad in the early nineteenth century, especially to the British Isles, not only shaped North American writers' worldviews, it also provided many writers with the opportunity to procure additional publishers for their works which, in turn, disseminated these writers' views across the British Isles. Much scholarship devoted to influences on nineteenth-century literature tends to conflate the British Isles into one coherent nation. This study, however, focuses on Scotland as a distinct region within the British Isles.

The works of eighteenth-century Scottish economists, historians, mathematicians, and philosophers gave birth to what became known as the Scottish Enlightenment, a movement that shaped both the British Isles and North America. One of the most influential ideas to emerge from the Scottish Enlightenment was stadial theory, the idea that humans come to being in a rudimentary or savage state and progress over time into civilized people who engage in economies of trade. Stadial theory informed nineteenth-century political and economic policies, which attempted to justify both the enslavement of people of color and the sustained campaigns of removing indigenous people from lands in North America.

This study examines works by North American writers who traveled to Scotland during the nineteenth century, wrote about their experiences both home and abroad, and expanded their reading audience by securing publishers outside of the United States. In their own ways, they examined what it meant, in the nineteenth century, to be considered savage or civilized, and the role violence and race played in the (re)formation of nations and narratives.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Thank you to my committee chair, Dr. Dworkin, and my committee members, Dr. Reynolds, Dr. Hudson, Dr. Oliver, and Dr. Egenolf, for their guidance and support throughout the course of this research.

I also want to thank the administration and my colleagues at Concordia University Texas for their support during this process, especially for the 2018 travel grant that allowed me to travel to Scotland for research. Thank you to the archival staff at the National Library of Scotland, and the staff at the New Register House in Edinburgh. Thanks also to the archival staff at the Library of Congress.

Thank you to Wayne and Mary Lou Walther for their encouragement and support, and Monroe Heyden and Mary Brady for being my guides in Boston, and introducing me to the African Meeting House.

Finally, to my wife, Christa, and my three children—Emma, Lilli, and Thomas—thank you for your sacrifice, your love, and most of all, for accompanying me on this amazing journey.

CONTRIBUTORS AND FUNDING SOURCES

Contributors

This work was supervised by a dissertation committee consisting of Professor Ira Dworkin, advisor, and Professor Larry J. Reynolds, Professor Lawrence J. Oliver, and Professor Susan B. Egenolf of the Department of English, and Professor Angela P. Hudson of the Department of History.

Funding Source

Travel was made possible by professional development funds from Concordia University Texas.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Page

ABSTRACT ii

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS iii

CONTRIBUTORS AND FUNDING SOURCES iv

TABLE OF CONTENTS v

CHAPTER I INTRODUCTION 1

Who Read an American Book? 2
The Scottish Enlightenment 6
Sir Walter Scott, William Robertson, and King Philip's War 12
Chapter Summaries 29

CHAPTER II VIOLENT TRAITS OF AN AMERICAN CHARACTER: WASHINGTON IRVING'S *SKETCH-BOOK* IN SCOTLAND 42

The House of John Murray 49
The 1820 Murray *Sketch-Book* 52
1817: *Notes* and *A Tour of Scotland* 64
Determined to Revise: "Traits of Indian Character" 71
Determined to Revise: "Philip of Pokanoket" 80
Postproduction and Postmortem Circulations 88

CHAPTER III "THE AID OF THE SAVAGE FROM THE FOREST WILDS": KAHGEGAGAHBOWH PLAYING INDIAN IN THE UNITED KINGDOM 94

"Shrewd Print Coices": Copway's *Life* in London, Edinburgh, and Ireland 101
Charles Gilpin: London 103
The House of Black: Edinburgh 107
Richard Cobden, Anti-Corn Laws, and the Peace Congress 109
Recollections of Stadial History 111
Running Commentaries 127
Running Sketches: Scotland and the Irving House 133
Copway's American Indian 142

CHAPTER IV "THIS IS MY OWN, MY NATIVE LAND": JESSE EWING GLASGOW'S BLACK JOHN BROWN NARRATIVE IN SCOTLAND 146

Black Communities at Home and Abroad 149
The Black Experience Abroad 153
The House of Myles MacPhail, Thomas Murray & Son, and Simpkin, Marshall, & Co. 162
"The Transformative Power of Geographic Shifts" 167
A Transnational View of Brown 175
Frederick Douglass's John Brown Narratives 189

CHAPTER V "WHERE THE ANCIENT 'BLACK DOUGLASS' ONCE MET HIS FOES": FREDERICK DOUGLASS'S NAVAGATION OF VIOLENT NARRATIVES 192

"The Ancient Black Douglass": Douglass, Robert Burns, and Walter Scott 200
The Heroic Slave 213
Savages and Civilization 226
Progress through Unification 234

CHAPTER VI CONCLUSION 243

WORKS CITED 292

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

In 1833, Rufus Choate delivered a lecture in Salem, Massachusetts in which he called for the emergence of an American who would write a series of novels, rooted firmly in American history and based on Sir Walter Scott's Waverley Novels, historical romances centered around the Jacobite Rebellion of 1745. About this imagined series of Scott/Scottish-inspired American narratives, Choate writes: "They would melt down, as it were, and stamp the heavy bullion into a convenient, universal circulating medium" (337). Choate, an attorney by trade and eventual U.S. Senator, is admittedly an unlikely voice to call upon for a discussion of the establishment of a national American literature but Choate's image of an historical literature as a coin—a thing created from natural resources, mined, melted, minted, and placed into circulation—serves as a guiding metaphor for this study of violence, nation, and race as ideas about all three circulated between the United States and Scotland in the early part of the nineteenth century. [1] Choate's vision evokes the inherent violence involved in the melting of raw bullion/disparate narratives (narratives wrought themselves with violence) into one "convenient," easily commodified, homogenous metanarrative.[2] Envisioning a national literature as a gold coin evokes Scottish Enlightenment thinkers and EuroAmerican policymakers, who privileged people who manipulated natural resources (or forced others to do so for them) into tradable commodities. Finally, Choate's choice of "circulating" evokes the (re)circulation of not only literary, but also cultural and political, arguments that moved between boundaries of nations (real and imagined), the ways that print culture facilitated those discussions through the circulation of texts, the ways bodies carried those discussions across circulating waters, and the ways misguided notions about the type of blood humans had circulating through their veins determined false narratives of race.

The works and travels of four, nineteenth-century, North American writers—Washington Irving, Kahgegagahbowh (né George Copway), Jesse Ewing Glasgow, and Frederick Douglass—illustrate how an American metanarrative that celebrated exceptionalism in the present, and glorified a violent past, was shaped and reshaped by the print culture, past and present, of Scotland. Each of these writers grappled, in their own way, with what it meant to be part of (or apart from) an America narrative; the role violence played in creating a nation's backstory; the role political violence might play in their contemporary world; and finally, ways to increase the circulation of their own contributions to the American metanarrative. Despite disparate, cultural and social backgrounds, all four writers' voices were influenced, directly or indirectly, by Scottish Enlightenment thinking, Scottish literature, and their own experiences while traveling in Scotland.

Who Reads an American Book?

In the decade prior to Choate's plea for a distinctly Scottish-influenced American literature, Sydney Smith, in *The Edinburgh Review* (1820), panned the idea of the United States creating anything of value, and asked the dismissive question, "Who Reads an American Book?" Smith excoriated EuroAmericans' claims of exceptionalism as "unspeakably ludicrous," claiming "they have done absolutely nothing" to advance the arts, literature, or politics, suggesting Americans "keep clear of superlatives" when describing themselves (Review of *Statistical Annals* 79-80). Any noteworthy Americans were "born and bred subjects of the King of England." Around the same time Smith leveled his criticism, Washington Irving expressed his dismay at "the literary animosity daily growing up between England and America" in the opening lines of "English Writers on America," an essay that appeared in *The Sketch-Book of Geoffrey Crayon, Gent.* (50). The "animosity" escalated to such a degree that four years later

The Edinburgh Review (1824), good-naturedly marveling at the "extremely sensitive and touchy" Americans, claimed: "We really thought at one time [the American literati] would have fitted out an armament against the Edinburgh and Quarterly Reviews, and burnt down Mr. Murray's and Mr. Constable's shops, as we did the American Capitol" (Review of *Travels through Part of the United States and Canada* 432-433).[3] The real or perceived degradation of American culture by Scots served as an exigence for the literati of the United States to question the notion that a national literature of the United States existed, and to offer suggestions for creating one if such a vacuum existed.

Despite the seemingly dismissive nature of this transatlantic conversation, Scotland was indeed reading "American books" or, at the very least, books written about America. Both the 1820 and 1824 essays referenced above are reviews of books about North America. Smith argued that *Statistical Annals of the United States of America* by Adam Seybert, an American who studied in Edinburgh and other parts of Europe, was worthy of readers' consideration in order to help them appreciate the United States "either as a powerful enemy or a profitable friend" (70). The 1824 essay is comprised of book reviews for *Travels through Part of the United States and Canada, in 1818 and 1819*; *Letters from North America, written during a Tour in the United States and Canada*; and *An Excursion through the United States and Canada, during the Years 1822-3.* While these two reviews diminish the literary merits of anything written by Americans, they are laudatory of many aspects of the burgeoning United States of America: its growing military and economy, as well as, its commitment to religious freedoms and educational system.

Smith's specific claim about the dearth of an American literature, however, appears justified when one considers that the EuroAmerican literati seemed unable in the early part of the

nineteenth century to conjure a specific North American writer worthy of merit.[4] Irving, in "English Writers," argued: "We are a young people, necessarily an imaginative one, and must take our models, in a great degree, from the existing nations of Europe. There is no country more worthy of our study than England" but he did not give any examples of writers who modeled their work on European ones (57). The 1824 *Edinburgh Review* book review chastised "a set of miserable persons in England" who were critical of all things American (Review of *Travels through Part of the United States and Canada* 427), and throughout the essay, deemed Americans' religious freedom, free-market economy, and education as "superior," and yet when it came to literature, the writer was not willing to apologize for preferring Shakespeare and Milton over any North American writer (433). The pages of North American periodicals also shared the notion that the United States had yet to produce a national literature. A direct response to Smith appeared in an 1820 edition of *North American Review,* echoing Irving's sentiments in "English Writers on America": "Our literary character is advancing with our political and civil progress; we produce more and better books every year" (Review of *Letters on the Eastern States* 84). Like Irving, however, *North American Review* appeared to be at a loss in naming an example of "better books" being published in the United States (69).[5] Before Smith lobbed his contention that all things English were superior to American letters, the editors of *The Analectic Magazine,* published in Philadelphia, concluded an 1818 book review by claiming "the favourite authors of England are universally our favourite authors . . . and we are quite as strenuous admirers of Scott, Campbell, Moore, and Bryon, as the Edinburgh and Quarterly Reviewers themselves" ("Review of *Resources*" 514).[6] The *Analectic Magazine* writer made no effort to argue that the United States had produced a writer equal to the status of any writer from

Europe, past or present, seeking instead to establish a unified standard of literary tastes that, presumably, transcended connections to any specific nation.

The "animosity daily growing up" that Irving referenced was not simply between the United States and England however; it also reflects differences of ideological opinions within the so-called United Kingdom. When Smith surmised that no one read American books, only five years had passed since hostilities between the United States and Britain surrounding the War of 1812 (1812-1815) had ceased. Andrew Hook contends the war was "the most powerful of symbolic expressions of the depth to which Anglo-American cultural relations had sunk; the war emerged out of a generalised [*sic*] sense of mutual dislike and hostility which had been most widely focused, disseminated, and debated in cultural terms" (39). Hook argues that the conversation circulating between the United Kingdom, especially Edinburgh, and the United States was more about American values than it was about American books. The editors of the British Isles periodicals were as critical of one another as they were of their American counterparts. Hook, David Finkelstein, and John Feather all recount the political affiliations of the London and Edinburgh journals: John Murray's Tory *Quarterly Review* was in direct competition with Archibald Constable's Whig *Edinburgh Review* (Finkelstein 8); and while *The Edinburgh Review* was sympathetic towards American culture, the *Quarterly Review* and *Blackwood's Magazine* were "long deeply hostile to everything American" (Hook 43); in *A History of British Publishing*, Feather reminds readers that the hostilities between journals were about economics as much as politics or ideology, and these arguments expanded beyond periodicals to include the entire British publishing industry as London and Edinburgh competed for publishing dominance.[7] This competition belies the notion that a "united" Kingdom existed

(or should) and, as the nineteenth century unfolded, that such a thing as a "united" States as a nation existed, let alone could create a unified, national literature.

Underlying the debate about the existence of an American national literature were two concerns: the sense that the United States was still so closely aligned culturally to England that any artistic endeavors were only pale imitations of English works, and the question of what made America unique in ways worthy of rendering the nation in writing. Scotland, in many ways, provided a potential answer to both of these concerns. Despite the difference in geographic proximity, Scotland's relationship with England provided some similarities with the United States' relationship with England in terms of white Americans living in the tension of both claiming a kinship based on hereditary and cultural similarities, and a desire for establishing or maintaining a distinct identity. When the ruling powers of England and Scotland were consolidated in the early seventeenth century, even though Scotland maintained its own distinct character, the locus of government moved from Edinburgh to London.[8] Oliver Cromwell's invasion of Scotland in 1650 further diminished Scotland's political power and identity, and the 1707 "Act of Union" solidified the primacy of England's rule as the two nations became the Kingdom of Great Britain. In much the same way, even though the United States achieved political independence from England in the eighteenth century, for many white Americans, the hereditary and cultural similarities with the English were unchanged. Therefore, many American and English literati agreed that the United States could lay no claim to a national literature, and there seemed little point in doing so, since they already claimed a stellar English literary history.

The Scottish Enlightenment

A history of armed conflict and reconciliation with England, however, was not what tied Scotland and the United States together most but rather the ideals of the Scottish Enlightenment,

which informed many EuroAmericans' policies regarding both land usage and the indigenous people who inhabited North America. This movement emerged from the works of eighteenth-century, Scottish economists, historians, mathematicians, and philosophers such as David Hume, Adam Smith, William Robertson and others, writers and scholars who viewed history as a steady progression of humans who developed increasingly sophisticated societies based on the power of reason. Scholars generally agree that the mathematician, Dugald Stewart, first identified the Scottish Enlightenment as a cohesive movement in his 1811 *Biographical Memoirs, of Adam Smith, LL.D. of William Robertson, D.D. and of Thomas Reid, D.D.,* which is a collection of lectures Stewart delivered to the Royal Society of Edinburgh.[9] According to Silvia Sebastiani in *The Scottish Enlightenment: Race, Gender, and the Limits of Progress,* the work of Hugh Trevor-Roper and Duncan Forbes in the 1960s helped (re)define the Enlightenment "as an intellectual movement that emerged from the abrupt encounter of backward Scotland with modern England, after the Union of 1707" (3). The Act of Union of 1707 also set in motion a desire by Lowland Scots to civilize their Highland neighbors. In *White People, Indians, and Highlanders,* Colin G. Calloway writes, "Unreformed, the Highlands threatened the cultural unity of Scotland and the political stability of the British union" (70). Sebastiani contends "the core of the eighteenth-century discussion—the Scottish one especially—revolved above all around the distance between the savage stage and the civil stage" (13). In other words, Lowland Scots wanted to expedite closing the gap between perceived savage states of Highland existence and the more civilized way of life of the Scottish Lowlands and Northern England. What became known as the Highland Clearances included removing Highland Scots from their lands to make way for sheep grazing (forced movement from "savage" to "shepherding"), and the introduction of religious and educational missionaries from the Lowlands. This attempt by Scots

who desired a homogenized, civilized society, ironically, worked to diminish a distinct Scottish history in favor of a "united" Kingdom.

The key thinkers and writers of the Scottish Enlightenment recognized an affinity with England, and their works attempted to explain the seeming disparity between the Highland and Lowland regions of Scotland in much the same way EuroAmericans would later grapple with understanding the indigenous peoples of North America, with disastrous results for both Highlanders and Native Americans. Murray Pittock in *Scottish and Irish Romanticism* reminds readers that despite the desire to assimilate, or at least claim affinity with English culture among the Scottish elite, the men associated most with the Scottish Enlightenment were still located in Edinburgh, Glasgow, and Aberdeen and "partook of the culture of the localities they sought to transcend: the associations of their thinking were Scottish, whether or not their theories of associationism were universal" (70). The inherent tension of claiming affinity with a nation or group while still maintaining a distinct identity was a parallel the United States shared with Scotland as it pertained to England.

The Scottish Enlightenment idea that proved most attractive to EuroAmerican writers and policymakers was the idea of "conjectural history," out of which grew the stadial (or stages) theory of humans' progression through history. Stewart first used the phrase "conjectural history" in his discussion of Smith in *Biographical Memoirs:*[10]

> To [Smith's] species of philosophical investigation, which has no appropriated name in our language, I shall take the liberty of giving the title of *Theoretical* or *Conjectural History,* an expression which coincides pretty nearly in its meaning with that of *Natural History,* as employed by Mr. Hume, and with what some French writers have called *Histoire Raisonnée.* (49)[11]

Smith viewed the history of humans as a progression through stages—first as hunters, then as shepherds, followed by farmers before reaching an assumed pinnacle of human existence: people who operated within economies of commerce. Ronald L. Meek's *Social Science and the Ignoble Savage* was most influential in demonstrating the ways a worldview guided by a stadial approach to human history might work, arguing that "societies undergo *development* through successive *stages* based on different *modes of subsistence*" (6). Sebastiani, acknowledging the importance of Meek's work and asserting that the "scheme of stages" (Sebastiani 6) is the most enduring idea to emerge from the Scottish Enlightenment, complicates a single reading of the movement by revealing "the complexity of the interwoven links between progress, national characters, races, and nations to be found in Scottish historical discourse" (16).[12]

Scholars have delineated ways a stadial view of history has been used since the nineteenth century to enact destructive practices against humans and landscapes.[13] If indeed the natural progression of humans is linked with ways humans interact with the natural world from agriculture through the exploitation of natural resources for consumption and trade, then it seems logical that the Scottish Enlightenment informed many political and economic decisions made by Europeans and EuroAmericans. From solidifying eighteenth-century ideas about race, the treatment of indigenous peoples on both continents, the international slave trade, and exploitation of natural resources, it seems fair to assert that "the Enlightenment indeed seems responsible for many of the grave ills of modern civilization" (Wolloch 245). Not included in this litany of social ills is the exploitation of women's labor and intellectual capital. Two of the focal points of this study—George Copway and Frederick Douglass—consistently undervalued or excised the contribution of women in their lives and works. While many critics have discussed Douglass's foregrounding of his masculine identity, Fionnghuala Sweeney provides a useful link between

Douglass's masculinity and the influence of Scottish literature when she contends Douglass's choice to adopt a new last name drawn from Scott's poem "appears to embrace romanticized notions of heroic masculinity current in both European and Southern US literature of the period" (18-19). Stadial theory was as appealing to many whites, especially men, in positions of privilege in the eighteenth and nineteenth century, as it was problematic for the people they encountered who appeared to be conducting their lives outside a recognizable commercial system.

A stadial view of history moved from simplistic theory to nefarious public policy when the stages were also viewed as a progression from a savage state (hunting culture) to a civilized one (culture of commerce). Coll Thrush contends the idea of "historical progress from savagery to civilization" is "one of the most powerful narratives in global history" (13). The narratives people told about themselves and their communities, especially in the nineteenth century, were often structured in such a way to convince readers that the writers of such narratives may have come from savage beginnings (centuries ago or years ago), but that the writers had evolved to the stage of civilization through hard work, education, religion or a combination of such factors. While the savage/civilized dichotomy was most clearly articulated in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century writings and public policies, the etymology of the word "savage" can be traced to Anglo-Norman and Old French origins. The first extant written use of "savage" was c1250, meaning "that [which] is in a state of nature, wild," or "of an animal: wild, undomesticated, untamed" ("Savage"). The word "savage" may have also "derived from the Latin word 'silva,' meaning woods or forest" (Green 32), evidenced by its use in the fourteenth century to reference not only animals but also "country, land, or landscape, uncultivated, wild . . . Also: of or belonging to such a landscape" ("Savage"). The leap in usage from savage landscape to savage people

appears to have occurred in the fifteenth century: "of a person living in a wild state; belonging to a people regarded as primitive and uncivilized." By the eighteenth century, use of the word savage to apply to a group of people was so pervasive as to appear commonplace.

This, of course, is where the idea of stadial theory moves from simply a taxonomy based on ways humans interact with the natural world to a theory with pernicious consequences for anyone who was not deemed as fully enfranchised in the world of commerce. Calloway's explanation of the four stages illustrates how word choice shaped thinking in this regard: "Societies moved gradually through four basic stages: 'savage' (hunting and fishing); 'barbarian' (pastoral herding or shepherding), a first phase of 'civilized,' based on agriculture; and 'fully civilized,' based on commerce and manufacturing" (77).[14] However, as Patrick Wolfe explains, when white Americans continued to expand westward across North America, the question of who was savage and who was civilized was largely an academic discussion: "the primary motive for elimination is not race (or religion, ethnicity, grade of civilization, etc.) but access to territory. Territoriality is settler colonialism's specific, irreducible element" (388). As Wolfe, and others have recounted, the tragic irony of North American Indians who practiced what white Americans deemed as civilized behavior—written language, large scale agricultural pursuits, the practice of chattel slavery—were still singled out for removals and attempted extermination.[15] The conundrum for those who embraced a stadial view of history was how a "fully civilized" group of people could coexist with contemporary people who appeared not to have progressed to a purportedly enlightened phase. On the other hand, one of the conundrums for indigenous people, who desired to assimilate or coexist with settler colonists, was attempting to decipher the ever-shifting criteria for full enfranchisement. Indigenous people who desired neither

assimilation nor coexistence with white Americans, of course, found it increasingly difficult to stave off the onslaught of white Americans and their march of alleged progress.

The question of who is defined as savage, what makes a group of people civilized, and how and when societies moved through these phases was, of course, more than an academic exercise, and one that played out in various ways both in the Scottish Highlands and North America.[16] Part of what informed the Scottish Enlightenment, Calloway argues, were reports emanating from the Americas which caused the Scottish Enlightenment thinkers and writers (among others) to attempt "to explain what distinguished civil society from 'rude' and primitive societies" (77). The Lowland Scots, then, were not only reading American books, they were also reading American landscapes and the indigenous people who inhabited them. Stadial theories were being tested on borders between people who conducted their lives in disparate manners in both North America and Northern England, and the results of such theories circulated between the two continents throughout the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Sir Walter Scott, William Robertson, and King Philip's War

The tragedy of the Highland Clearances provided inspiration for Sir Walter Scott, one of Scotland's most recognizable poets (along with Robert Burns) and certainly its most renowned novelist, which, in turn, served as a potentially imaginative space for white American writers as they strove to create works which were distinctly American. Scott's popularity was so widespread on both sides of the Atlantic that his imprint on nineteenth-century European and EuroAmerican literature was taken as a given by nineteenth-century writers as well as by subsequent scholars. Scott's influence on nineteenth-century writers from the United States is evident in both small and significant ways. His bust was only one of four enshrined in the Boston Masonic temple; Plato, Socrates, and Shakespeare were the other three (Marshall 103).

Frederick Bailey adopted the last name "Douglass" at the suggestion of a friend who had recently read Scott's "Lady of the Lake," (*Life and Times* 207). The writer who most completely answered Choate's call to render American history "by a Series of Romances Like the Waverley Novels" was James Fenimore Cooper, whose popular *Leatherstocking Tales* emulated the Romanticism of Scott's Highland novels to such a degree that, early in Cooper's career, a writer in *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* dubbed Cooper "the Sir Walter Scott of America" ("Late American Books" 323).[17] Irving, of course, not only admired Scott's work, but knew him personally, a relationship which bolstered Irving's writing career. In Irving's "Preface" to *The Sketch-Book of Geoffrey Crayon,* he recounts how the text came to be reprinted for a British audience "under the kind and cordial auspices of Sir Walter Scott," allowing Irving to begin his "literary career in Europe" (10). While Scott's work has received little critical attention in twentieth-first century American studies, countless nineteenth-century American writers paid homage to Scott either in style or by name in her or his work.[18]

If the influence of Scott were merely stylistic or economic (emulating a best-selling author for potential financial gain) then considering his influence on American writers would be interesting but not terribly important; however, the popularity of Scott's fictions circulated the Scottish Enlightenment views of stadial history, most clearly the work of William Robertson. The opening lines of Robertson's *The History of Scotland* established how a stadial view of history worked to erase the past in order to recreate the present: "The first ages of the Scotch history are dark and fabulous. Nations, as well as men, arrive at maturity by degrees, and the events, which happened during their infancy or early youth, cannot be recollected, and deserve not to be remembered" (Robertson 1). Pittock argues these lines attempted to eliminate a distinct Scottish narrative from British history "for it contained the idea of the infantilization of the

national past" suggesting Scottish history "could be a childhood tale, a story, a romance, but not modernity nor reality" (65). Coupled with Smith's taxonomy of societies that ranged from savage to civilized, Robertson's view of Scottish history rendered his Scots ancestors, who ostensibly lived in a "dark and fabulous" age, as savages whose narratives "deserve not to be remembered." While Scott drew upon the Jacobite rebellion for literary inspiration, he favored a United Kingdom, adopting "Jacobite rhetoric as a flavour of old romance while divorcing that rhetoric very firmly from reality" (Pittock 187). Pittock contends that the works of Hume, Smith, and Robertson made Scott's novels possible "by the use of an intellectual model designed to infantilize" Scottish nationalism (66). In short, romanticized stories about the Jacobite rebellion made for entertaining fiction, but "Britishness is a matter of adult responsibility" (187). Depicting a nation or a people's violent past also suggests that the hegemonic structures in the present are governed by people who have advanced to a higher, more ideal, stage.

Part of Scott's technique of "divorcing that rhetoric" from reality was his ability to make the landscape and characters of his poetry and fiction seem foreign, belonging to a distant past, through his ability to create linguistic verisimilitude in his descriptions of Highland landscapes and his characters' dialogue. Despite Scott's popularity in the United States, reviews of his work in *The North American Review* are representative of ways many readers, who otherwise enjoyed his poetic verse and plot lines, struggled with Scott's dependence on Scots dialect. A review in *The North American Review* of Scott's poem, *The Lord of the Isles,* includes several lengthy representative stanzas, followed by the unnamed reviewer's commentary: "We cannot help remarking, that the facility with which Mr. Scott introduces the most uncouth and barbarous Gaelick [*sic*] names, and blends them with the smoothest versification, creates almost a feeling of vexation" ("*The Lord of the Isles*" 278). Here Scott was praised for rendering barbarous

subjects into subjects worthy of poetry through his expert ("civilized") use of language. However, in the same volume of *The North American Review*, a less charitable review of Scott's novel, *Guy Mannering*, also appeared; this time, in the reviewer's opinion, Scott's use of dialect did not redeem the characters despite an otherwise entertaining plot. The novel "must always be in some degree confined to Scotland, as so much of the dialogue is in the peculiar dialect of that country . . . and a great part of the dialogue must be mere gibberish to the majority of readers, without a glossary" (435-436). The reviewer also complained about Scott's habit of coining new words, which were dissonant and "absolutely barbarous."[19] In volume three of *The North American Review*, the editors turned their attention again to Scott and his use of dialect, writing: "The most eminent of the modern school is Scott, and though his works now require a glossary, and will probably become more unintelligible hereafter, unless these authors are able to make their own corrupted language the prevailing one" ("*The Story*" 274). The writer grudgingly admired the plots and passion of Scott's work but bemoaned "the lamentable facility with which he has introduced into flowing verse, the names of every rude rock, and barbarous chieftain, which can be found in Scottish history."[20] Beneath complaints about barbarous use of the English language is an assumption that there is a proper, perhaps civilized, way to speak and write English. However, there is also something telling in the popularity of creative works rendered in this fashion, mainly that depictions of a people's ancestors as barbarous serves as a comforting contrast for their nineteenth-century descendants who can view themselves as an advanced, civilized people by comparison.

White Americans' response to Scott's depictions of barbarous Highlanders mimicked the ways Native Americans were often depicted by white Americans as, at once, infantile and savage. Once again, Robertson and the Scottish Enlightenment played a role. Several decades

after Robertson's *History of Scotland* was published, he turned his gaze westward to North America and published *The History of America* (1777), [21] a text that enjoyed immediate and enduring success on both sides of the Atlantic and, according to Maureen Konkle, became "the standard reference on Indians in North America in both Europe and the United States through the mid-nineteenth century" (9-10). Robertson was a monogenist, a worldview informed by the Old Testament that asserted all humans descended from one common ancestor. Placing Native Americans into this belief system, along with a view of stadial history, led Robertson to consider "the discovery of America as a decisive rupture in the conception of the nature and history of mankind" (Sebastiani 10). In other words, the existence of Native Americans in the present was as problematic to Robertson as would be the sudden appearance of his "dark and fabulous" Scots ancestors. Robertson's criteria for determining that Native Americans were stadial anomalies, primitives in the present, were: 1) Native Americans appeared to live in harmony with nature but did not make improvements to the land; 2) they did not form recognizable forms of governing themselves; and, 3) the characteristic that would prove most detrimental to indigenous people from the seventeenth century forward— Robertson claimed they did not value ownership of personal property/land. Robertson's *History of America* was a pseudo-historical, philosophical text about a continent he never visited.[22] However, Thomas Jefferson "was familiar with Robertson's writings and shared [Scottish Enlightenment thinkers'] assumptions about human progress, the Indians' inferiority, and the future they faced" (Calloway 79). [23] The philosophies used to justify the Highland Clearances were recirculated to the United States, and employed to justify Indian removals.

The editors of *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* were not necessarily thinking of Indian removals in 1825 but one unnamed writer was still bemoaning the dearth of American literature,

and felt that writing about Native Americans might be the very thing to bring distinction to American letters. In an essay titled, "Note-book of a Literary Idler," the writer stated that he had recently finished reading the novel, *Lionel Lincoln*, by Cooper, whom the writer dubbed "the transatlantic imitator of the author of Waverley" (738). The writer argued Cooper was consciously attempting to do for America what Scott had done for Scotland. The *Blackwood's* writer, however, felt that the American Revolution, the setting for *Lionel Lincoln*, was not a subject worthy of high romance. He provided several reasons: some of the participants of the war were still living, and their exploits had already been recorded in the press; and finally, the war lacked the essential elements of romance, which the Waverley novels contained. "No art," the writer contended, "can make stamp-acts" or "tea-duties romantic" (739).[24] After concluding "the inherent difficulty of writing an American novel on the Waverley plan," he proposed:

> The States possess materials out of which to build fictions of a different kind. The wars, lives, and intrigues of the first settlers with their red neighbours, would for instance, afford copious materials. The primitive Indian hunter, in contact with the formal Quaker, would be a fine contrast. A picturesque writer would revel in the glorious scenery of the yet unsubdued woods, and the bays, rivers, and headlands, still beautiful, though art has done what it can to diminish their beauty. We do not remember that this has ever been adequately done. (739)

The reviewer then referenced Irving's "Philip of Pokanoket" as a work that touched on such things but that "is not much worth." Furthermore, while the reviewer doubted Irving possessed the talent to become a great novelist, he hoped that some American writer would emerge.[25] Like the Scottish magazine writers before, the *Blackwood's* reviewer seemed at a loss to identify an American writer who could match the skill of English writers; however, the reviewer's

suggestion to look further back to a time prior to the United States becoming a nation, to contrast "primitive" indigenous people with the "formal" English, to use the savage/civilized dichotomy, bolstered a narrative many Americans would tell, and a narrative that would appeal to an international audience.

One of the most impassioned pleas for modeling an American literature on Scotland and Scott came from the aforementioned Choate, who delivered his lecture, "The Importance of Illustrating New-England History by a Series of Romances like the Waverley Novels," in 1833, a year after Scott's death. Choate posited that while the history of the United States had received satisfactory attention, there was

> one thing more which every lover of his country, and every lover of literature, would wish done for our early history. He would wish to see such a genius as Walter Scott . . . undertake in earnest to illustrate that early history, by a series of romantic compositions, 'in prose or rhyme,' like the Waverley novels, the Lay of the Last Minstrel, and the Lady of the Lake . . . [in] the same kind and degree of interest which Scott has given to the Highlands, to the Reformation, the Crusades, to Richard the Lion-hearted, and to Louis XI. (319)

This proposed narrative would be bookended by the landing of the Pilgrims and the Revolutionary War and would create a "noble national literature" (320).[26]

Beyond simply pointing to Scott as a model for an American writer, Choate seemingly recognized the ways Scott's novels enfolded a distinct Scottish history into a larger English metanarrative. Nearly every line of Choate's twenty-six pages evoked the Scottish Enlightenment, echoing Stewart's call for a "conjectural history," not by using the phrase *per se*, but by arguing incessantly for a literary rendering of American history that relied on

"imagination."[27] Stewart's use of "conjectural" in conjunction with "history" has proved problematic for many scholars due to "the supposed nonscientific method of Scottish Enlightenment historiography, and its causal attitude toward facts" (Sebastiani 7). Moreover, while this view is certainly applicable to the works of the Enlightenment writers themselves, a "causal attitude towards facts" is precisely what Choate argued for in his lecture. "The reality of history," Choate contended "rather chills, shames, and disgusts us" (339). Choate felt nonfiction historical accounts of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century North America contained "deficiencies," which could be remedied with romanticized poems or novels as Scott did in his work.

Scott's death was not the only event that created a sense of urgency in Choate's plea for a reworking of the American narrative; the chilling, shameful and disgusting realities of the Indian Removal Act of 1830 continued to unfold in Choate's contemporary America. Choate, like many New England whites in the early part of the nineteenth century, had already decided that Native Americans had vanished but he devoted the final portion of his lecture to summarizing the so-called King Philip's War, bemoaning that little of the ancillary details had been dramatized. "King Philip" was the English name chosen by the Wampanoag leader, Metacomet, whose father, Massasoit, had been instrumental in assisting the first English colonists at Plymouth, Massachusetts as they struggled to survive the winter of 1620. By 1675, however, skirmishes between the English and the Wampanoags had escalated into warfare that lasted until 1678 when Metacomet was executed by the English. However, in *Our Beloved Kin,* Lisa Brooks demonstrates how naming these conflicts "King Philip's War" oversimplifies these historical events. Brooks contends the "act of naming contained the 'war' from an ongoing, multifaceted Indigenous resistance, led by an uncontainable network of Indigenous leaders and families, to a

rebellion, an event that could be contained within one year, by a single persuasive insurgent, who had taken his exit and vanished" (8). "King Philp's War," if it can be called such, was as much the English colonists' war as it was King Philip's.

Choate, however, longed for a narrative with clear winners and losers, along with a succinct moral for losers. He argued that if these historical events were told by Scott, the results would be "so moving, that they would grave themselves upon the memory, and dwell in the hearts of our whole people forever" (328). And, the memory Choate hoped could be recreated was one in which an historical Native American, Philip, became a tragic American hero who understood the savage could not endure in civilization. In *Removals*, Lucy Maddox places Choate's maneuverings into historical context, suggesting that beyond literary concerns and nationalism, "in recommending a reconstruction of colonial history, Choate is offering a way of making that early history more continuous with the political realities of 1833" (90).[28] Choate reinforced the Scottish Enlightenment idea that civilized/advanced societies would naturally supersede savage/primitive societies when he reimagined the final moments of King Philip's defeat: "The terrible truth had at length flashed upon the Indian chief, that the presence of civilization, even of human, peaceful, and moral civilization, was incompatible with the existence of Indians" (336-337). This false narrative was replicated in numerous other nineteenth century texts, as it was a convenient narrative for white Americans who were working to remove indigenous peoples from their land and relocating them to a romanticized memory. [29] Jill Lepore, in *The Name of War*, traces the angst of white American people's identity to the North American English's fears that their "Englishness" was at risk due to their contact with Native Americans who the English settlers viewed as savage. The confluence of Scottish Enlightenment thinking and a desire to establish a distinct American literature ultimately comes

together in the narratives of King Philip's War which, by the early nineteenth century, seemed to be the defining narrative for many white Americans. [30]

As Choate's argument for a fictionalized American history wound down, he expressed his belief that the United States needed something that would unify them. If an American writer could craft a unifying American narrative, Choate contends,

> it would turn back our thoughts from these recent and overrated diversities of interest,—these controversies about negro-cloth, coarse-wooled sheep and cotton bagging,—to the day when our fathers walked hand in hand together through the valley of the Shadow of Death in the War of Independence. Reminded of our fathers, we should remember that we are brethren. (344)

Choate was careful not to use the word slavery (although the imagery is obvious) or, more importantly, to express his stance on the issue of slavery. What his words make clear, however, is that this unifying American narrative is for the descendants of "our" white American "fathers" only. Choate vanquished the Native American memory as literary fodder for contrasting the goodness of Puritan stock. Presumably, enslaved people would also follow the same path as Native Americans once "our thoughts" are turned back from these "overrated diversities of interest."[31] While the many voices from the English journals we have considered thus far seemed to share Choate's vision for what might make for a distinct American literature, they were more direct in their assessment of "these controversies about negro-cloth." In the final paragraph from the aforementioned article in *Edinburgh Review* (1824), in which the writer went to great lengths explaining the many desirable aspects of American society, we find this stark criticism and warning:

> In all this the balance is prodigiously in [America's] favour: But then comes the great disgrace and danger of America—the existence of slavery, which, if not timeously corrected, will one day entail (and ought to entail) a bloody servile war upon the Americans—which will separate America into slave states and states disclaiming slavery, and which remains at present as the foulest blot in the moral character of that people. (Review of *Travels through Part of the United States and Canada* 442)

Unlike Choate, the *Edinburgh Review* writer does not mince words, accurately predicting what would become another defining American narrative: a violent and bloody civil war fought over the issue of chattel slavery.

We began this introduction with Choate's call for a unifying American literature, one that would "melt down" all the disparate narratives of the nation and "stamp the heavy bullion into a convenient, universal circulating medium" (337). Choate's model for such a violent rendering of a myriad of distinct narratives, one that would presumably elide African American and Native American voices was a metanarratives drawn from Scotland's Highlands. Of all the reasons Choate provided for why such a plan was sound, he did not address the one element that bound white Americans, England, and Scotland together: the English language. While this may seem an obvious connection, William Ellery Channing, in the initial publication of *The North American Review*, pointed to the English language as the single greatest barrier writers in the United States faced in creating a national literature. Arguing that "National literature seems to be the product, the legitimate product, of a national language," Channing contended that since white Americans spoke English, they would naturally never create written works distinct enough from those produced in England. (307). However, Channing did identify one potential model for

how writers could mold a literature, written in English, that would make it distinct from British literature. Channing pointed to literature written by Scots, most notably Walter Scott, Allan Ramsay, and Robert Burns. Channing wrote: "Mr. Scott has given us a mere translation of his national dialect, and has most happily rendered native beauties of idiom, and even national peculiarities, by another language" while also asserting that Ramsay and Burns "are essentially original" (308). Channing saw no similar project succeeding for white American writers since the languages which tied a people to North American soil could be found only in "the oral literature of its aborigines" (313) which lose their "genuine originality" (314) when rendered into English.

A national literature of the United States would necessarily include the histories of divergent indigenous peoples, invaders and explorers from all parts of the globe, immigrants and enslaved people from many nations; it also would naturally include the violent interactions among and between these disparate groups of people. A national literature cannot accurately be rendered in one unified narrative. This study explores how nineteenth-century white Americans crafted a metanarrative that, among other things, attempted to justify violent policies against Native Americans, Africans, and African Americans both in the United States' past and present. For many nineteenth-century Native Americans, there was a concerted effort to avoid being incorporated within the white American metanarrative because their prescribed part was that of the Indian who belonged only in the past. For many nineteenth-century African Americans, both enslaved and free, there was a desire to change the narrative in order to become fully free and emancipated. At the heart of these many and various conversations was the role violence played, specifically as it related to savage violence versus civilized violence, a conversation for which the Scottish Enlightenment helped provide a framework. This metanarrative made it difficult for

subaltern populations to advocate for violent solutions since what I call "enlightened violence" was always safely enshrined in a romanticized past, and civilization was always associated with the peaceful present, even when whites were actively engaged in violence themselves. I focus on ways nineteenth-century American literature circulating in Scotland either worked to perpetuate or worked against the metanarrative that simultaneously celebrated the United States as a peaceful and prosperous nation in the present and, paradoxically, embraced a past rooted in savage violence.

The narratives that arose during and after King Philip's War, as mentioned above, provided a touchstone for the existential threat many white Americans felt in regards to the American experiment. Just as Lepore does in the *The Name of War,* Richard Slotkin, in *The Fatal Environment in the Age of Industrialization 1800-1890,* recounts how seventeenth-century Puritans feared that contact with indigenous people they deemed savage threatened to degrade the Puritans themselves. The "doctrine of savage war" (as distinguished from civilized warfare), as Slotkin explains, was established in North America by Cotton Mather, William Hubbard, and others who attempted to distinguish atrocities committed by Puritans and atrocities committed by Native Americans.[32] The Puritans employed typology—viewing current events through the lens of Biblical events—in order to justify the use of violence by people purportedly chosen by God. [33] The same kind of misguided thinking was used by many white Americans in their defense of enslaving Native Americans, Africans, and African Americans.

In order to maintain the illusion that some people were civilized while others were savage, white Americans "depended on the belief that certain races are inherently disposed to cruel and atrocious violence" (Slotkin 53). Wolfe reminds us, however, that nineteenth-century concerns about race did not always operate in the same way, as "Indians and Black people in the

US have been racialized in opposing ways that reflect their antithetical roles in the formation of US society" (387). Wolfe further contends that white Americans systemically used violence to reduce Native populations, not necessary because they belonged to a certain race of people, but in order to claim more land; whereas racializing as many people as "black" as possible served the violent institution of slavery, which relied on a constant supply of enslaved laborers. That said, enslaved people of color and Native Americans faced a double edged sword in advocating resistance against hegemonic structures in the nineteenth century: 1) they had been identified as groups of people "inherently disposed" towards what whites deemed an unacceptable form of violence and 2) in the early part of the nineteenth century, the prevailing myth was that the United States was currently civilized and beyond the need for violence.

Richard Slotkin's groundbreaking work, *Regeneration Through Violence: The Mythology of the American Frontier, 1600-1860*, tracks the ways violence was perpetrated among Europeans and Native Americans from, as the title suggests, post-contact 1600s to the mid-nineteenth century. Slotkin argues that as whites moved throughout North America exploring landscapes, exploiting resources and indigenous people, that violence served as a regenerative experience, dislocating whites from their European ancestors into people who were uniquely American. This violence was then inscribed into myths white Americans used in their literary narratives and public policies as the disparate communities of North America became the United States and white Americans travelled ever westward. In addition to viewing the ways regenerative violence operated in the works of Irving, Copway, Glasgow, and Douglass, I also examine these writers' works through the lens of prevalent myths Slotkin develops in his later work, *The Fatal Environment.* In his discussion of "History as an Indian War, 1675-1820," Slotkin presents two contradictory myths that developed among EuroAmericans from post-

contact North America up until the early nineteenth century: the "frontier myth" and "literary mythology." Frontier myth suggests that resources in North America were so abundant that, as people moved westward (wherever that line happened to be at a given point in time), "the abundant resources of land are sufficient to make all conflicts of class and interest unnecessary" (Slotkin, *The Fatal* 52). Diametrically opposed to the frontier myth is what Slotkin terms "literary mythology," the idea that violence is both natural and inescapable when two seemingly disparate peoples attempt to inhabit the same space. Yet, more than a descriptor of scenarios of what occurs between groups of people in conflict throughout history, literary mythology privileges the violent conflict. In other words, violence is more than an ancillary part of the story, it is "the center of the story" (52).

Finally, Slotkin's designation of "captive and hunter" dyads are most useful in examining how regeneration through violence served as a consolidating trope as it shaped the white American metanarrative.[34] White Americans who were captured during conflicts with Native Americans served an important (if misguided) psychological benefit for their respective communities:

> If they can maintain their racial/cultural integrity in that world, if they can seize the natural, original power that is immanent in that world, and if they can defeat the forces that seek to prevent their return to civilization, then on their return they will be capable of renewing the moral and physical powers of the society they originally left. (Slotkin 63)

For white Americans, violent interactions through war, whether it be hand-to-hand combat or surviving captivity, provided an opportunity to prove they were not becoming savage due to their

contact and conflicts with Native Americans. Slotkin's "captive and hunter" dyad further explains the ways in which white Americans experienced contact with indigenous people. As Slotkin contends "If, then, the Indian war confirms the end of the Golden Age, it fortunately offers a chance for purgation and renewal" (56). The history of the formation of nations is the history not only of violence but also of the ways violence is memorialized in narratives.

While Slotkin and Lepore explain how mythology in North America was informed by violent interactions between Native and white Americans, neither explicitly examines how these ideas circulating between Scotland and North America were informed by, and informed, Scottish Enlightenment thinking. I build on Slotkin's theory of regeneration through violence by examining nineteenth-century American narratives through what Pittock calls "the taxonomy of glory." In *Scottish and Irish Romanticism,* Pittock argues the works of Scottish Enlightenment thinkers, especially Adam Smith's *Theory of Moral Sentiments* (1759), drew on violent historical events and "converted them into the structure of sympathy" (65). This sympathy, Pittock argues, "provided a basis for imaginative writing which celebrated mutual British reconciliation" (66). A taxonomy of glory worked to romanticize a region/nation's violent past. However, as Pittock also explains, "one of the paradoxes of the later eighteenth century in Scotland was that the country's historiography, which had long exemplified a taxonomy of glory, was overturned in favour of what became a standard model of integrationist ('Whig') British history, at just the same time as a taxonomy of glory was appearing in literature" (27). I argue that a similar phenomenon occurs in the early nineteenth-century United States as American literati are seeking to define the elements of a unifying national literature.

Any discussion of what might constitute a national literature, however, must confront the very idea of a nation. In the early part of the nineteenth century, the idea of "nation" in the

United States was very much uncertain and fluid: geographic boundaries were being drawn, indigenous nations within a nation were being determined,[35] political, civil, and human rights were granted or denied based on ever shifting ideas about race.[36] As the idea of a homogenous United States developed, so too did the conversation about which communities controlled the U.S. metanarrative. Benedict Anderson's definition of nation as "an imagined political community—and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign" (6) is helpful when considering not only how the EuroAmerican narrative arose but also in the development of subaltern narratives. Jodi Byrd, in *The Transit of Empire: Indigenous Critiques of Colonialism,* contends that "one of the key components of national self-determination and sovereignty involves the nation's ability to define for itself the self and other, the inside and out" (144). Crossing borders for many indigenous people was antithetical on many fronts—a rejection of whites' claim to lands, a rejection of whites' belief in their own freedom of movement, and a rejection of nationhood as the hegemonic United States government understood it. Mark Rifkin, in *Manifesting America: The Imperial Construction of U.S. National Space,* explains this tension with what he terms the "double movement" of the United States government's campaign of establishing fixed (yet imagined) boundaries around lands to which they had no claim, and then attempting to draw Native Americans into those spaces, regardless of Native Americans' claims to sovereignty (6). Maddox sums up many of these struggles when she writes about "the susceptibility of many (even most) nineteenth-century American writers to the dominant myths of American nation-building, with their inherent discriminations between those who are eligible for citizenship within the nation and those who are not" (170). Even though Maddox is writing mainly about literary depictions of indigenous people in works by white writers, the question of "citizenship within the nation" can be applied to the struggle of many nineteenth-century African

Americans as well. The ability to define the parameters of one's community is important for any community, living in any space, in any century.

Irving, Copway, Glasgow, and Douglass grappled with these ideas of violence, nation, and race in their texts that were published and republished in the United States and the United Kingdom during the nineteenth century. Meredith L. McGill's designation of a "culture of reprinting," in which antebellum writers' works circulated in the United States and the British Isles, sometimes under their control, and sometimes beyond their control, provides a helpful framework in examining these writers' narratives (4). Irving's experiences with English publishers reinforced the idea that white males enjoyed an obvious advantage in forging relationships with publishers, and exercising editorial control over how their works were reprinted. However, Copway, Glasgow, and Douglass's experiences, while unique, demonstrate how nineteenth-century Native Americans and African Americans also used print culture, specifically as they exercised editorial control over the publication of their works, and forged relationships with European publishers for republication of their works. Reprinting allowed many writers to (re)imagine communities that were not necessarily circumscribed by the United States government's official demarcations of boundaries or definitions of what constituted citizenship or whose stories should be written into a national metanarrative.

Chapter Summaries

In chapter 1 of this study, I examine Washington Irving's work and his travels to and from Europe in search of inspiration, publishers, and a British reading audience, which serve as a reminder that white males' movements in the nineteenth century were as largely unrestricted abroad as they were at home.[37] Recent scholarship on nineteenth-century travel or tourism literature is mainly focused on one of four phenomena: the travels of prominent (mainly white)

writers; a "narrow focus on a particular object or practice"; an "Andersonian-'nation'" study related to travel and empire; or travelers visiting sites associated with nineteenth-century writers (Milsom 727). Irving's travels, the works he created as a result of those travels, and the ways these works circulated as they were printed and reprinted on both sides of the Atlantic fit into all four categories. Irving's *The Sketch-Book of Geoffrey Crayon, Gent.* was largely composed while Irving traveled throughout Europe and, as noted, reached a European audience through the assistance of prominent Scots. The 1820 English edition of *The Sketch-Book* published by Scott's publisher, John Murray, also a Scot, included three essays that did not appear in the original U.S. edition. The focal point of this chapter is two of those essays, "Traits of Indian Character" and "Philip of Pokanoket: An Indian Memoir." I also examine ways Irving's two journals, *Tour in Scotland* and *Notes While Preparing Sketch Book &c.*, written in 1817 while Irving traveled through Scotland, (re)shaped his Indian essays. Irving's travels, his relationship with Murray, and these essays on Native Americans illustrate how bodies and texts circulated in the nineteenth century in service of establishing a (false) unifying American metanarrative; a narrative that celebrated a civilized white American nation built on the glories of a violent past in much the same way that Scott's Highland romances contrasted Scotland's "barbarous" past to a unified United Kingdom in the nineteenth century.

Irving's "Traits of Indian Character" and "Philip of Pokanoket: An Indian Memoir" are emblematic of the savage/civilized dichotomy that was perpetuated by Robertson's and other Scottish Enlightenment thinker's stadial view of history. The Indians of "Traits" are "degenerate beings, corrupted and enfeebled" (241) while Philip "was a true born prince, gallantly fighting" (256). It is no coincidence, of course, that the Indians Irving described with a sympathy that borders on scorn were his contemporaries ("Traits"), while the Indian engaged in justified

violence against whites was safely ensconced in the distant past ("Philip"). Masahiro Nakamura demonstrates the ways Irving's "Philip" served as a guiding narrative for works about Native Americans by Lydia Maria Child, Catharine Sedgwick, James Fenimore Cooper, and others which "contributed immensely to the creation of the American format for accommodating New England Native Americans into the American mainstream of fiction in accordance with a general revisionist history" (137). I argue that Irving's essays also further developed a seemingly contradictory idea: part of what made a people civilized was the peace and prosperity that they had created and yet, paradoxically, the narrative of those same people was always rooted in the savage violence of settler colonialism.

Irving's essays provide an opportunity to examine ways the "savage" in the white American imagination became the "noble savage," and then the vanishing Indian. The seemingly paradoxical idea of the noble savage which emerged in the seventeenth century seems less harsh, yet its uses were no less pernicious. Use of the phrase first appeared in print in John Dryden's *The Conquest of Granada* (1692), purported to mean "Primitive man, conceived of or idealized as morally superior to civilized man" ("Noble Savage"). While "morally superior" suggests a fissure in the clearly defined stages of the Scottish Enlightenment, use of the word savage was still problematic given the conundrum of who was doing the defining and whom was being defined.

The struggle over who shaped and controlled an emerging American narrative is particularly relevant to Irving and his relationship with the publisher John Murray. In addition to publishing Scott and Irving, Murray was the publisher for Lord Byron and many others. Murray and his partner, Archibald Constable, forged an unique working relationship between authors and publishers, which was "responsible for the radical change in the profession of authorship in

which the eighteenth-century patronage system was replaced by relationships of authors with entrepreneurial publishers" ("John Murray" 205). Given that many of the essays and stories in Irving's *Sketch-Book* have European settings, the addition of "Traits" and "Philip" in the first John Murray edition suggests they were selected for their uniquely American content. The market in Europe seemed prepared to receive this version of the American narrative, evidenced by John Murray's influence as a publisher and the favorable reviews Irving's work enjoyed.

In the exchanges that circulated around Smith's "Who Reads an American Book?" debate, while no one was willing to champion Irving as the writer who would establish a national literature for the United States, Irving's name was always part of the conversation. An unnamed writer in 1818, after asserting that their admiration for Scott, Campbell, Moore, and Bryon was equal to the "Edinburgh and Quarterly Reviewers themselves," bemoaned the fact Irving had been travelling abroad depriving them of the "enjoyment of the maturer [*sic*] fruits of his playful imagination, his rich, vigorous, and well disciplined mind-his sagacious and penetrating understanding" ("Review of *Resources*" 514). And, in the midst of their diatribe about the dearth of a true American literature, the writer in *Blackwood's Edinburgh Review* (who dubbed Cooper "the Sir Walter Scott of America") mentioned Irving, along with Charles Brockden Brown and John Neal, as writers whose work had transnational appeal even though they lacked a distinctly American character ("Late American Books" 321). However, the romantic rendering of Puritans' struggles with Native Americans, of civilization triumphing over savagery, that Rufus Choate would envision in 1833 were already circulating in the 1820 English edition of Irving's *The Sketch-Book of Geoffrey Crayon, Gent.*

Chapter 2 also focuses on Native Americans and the nineteenth-century; however, here I turn my gaze from white Americans shaping indigenous narratives to indigenous peoples

narrating their own stories. The focal point is the travels and writings of a man whose life and works defy categorization on many fronts. Kahgegagahbowh, who also published under the name George Copway, was born in the Ojibwa Nation in Trenton, Ontario but spent much of his life in the United States. He spent time as a missionary for the Methodist church in Minnesota, formulating plans for indigenous territories, and as a writer in New York City. [38] Two of Kahgegagahbowh's texts are central to this chapter: *Recollections of a Forest Life: or, the Life and Travels of Kah-Ge-Ga-Gah-Bowh* and *Running Sketches of Men and Places, in England, France, Germany, Belgium, and Scotland.* These texts serve as examples of an indigenous person speaking back to the hegemonic narratives established by writers such as Irving.

In order to discuss travel writing by Native Americans, one must first consider the relationship Native Americans had to the written word.[39] Not all nineteenth-century indigenous people spurned the written word, or even writing in English, but rather used print culture as a form of resistance, survival, and entertainment.[40] Much of the scholarship related to Native Americans and print culture focuses on the transmission of texts within Indian country and the United States, specifically John Eliot's publication of the "Indian Bible," the invention of the Cherokee syllabary, Samson Occom's publication of his own work in the eighteenth century, William Apess's influential texts written in English, and Elias Boudinot, the first Native American newspaper editor (Round 5-7). Phillip H. Round's *Removable Type: Histories of the Book in Indian Country, 1663-1880* is indispensable for understanding "ways in which print provided these Native authors and their communities with a much-needed weapon in their battles against relocation, allotment, and cultural erasure" (5).

Copway's *Recollections* is of interest because, while it is an autobiographical text based on his life in North America, one of its editions was published simultaneously by Charles Gilpin

in London, Adam and Charles Black in Edinburgh, and James Gilpin in Dublin. Originally published in the United States in 1847 as *Life, Letters and Speeches of Kah-ge-ga-gah-bowh*, the text received an altered title when published in Europe in 1850: *Recollections of a Forest Life; or the Life and Travels of Kah-ge-ga-gah-bowh*. The new title, along with additional revisions within the text, serves to relocate Copway's narrative within the context of English Romanticism. While A. LaVonne Brown Ruoff and Donald B. Smith, in their critical edition of *Life, Letters, and Speeches*, have noted the differences between the U.S. and British versions of Copway's text, they ascribe the changes to the publishers (213). I, however, argue that Copway exercised a degree of editorial control over the British editions of his text, including many of the changes the text underwent when it was republished in the British Isles.

Copway's *Running Sketches* is of particular interest because, as the full title suggests, it was written as a result of his travels to Europe as part of the American delegation to the Peace Congress in Belgium. *Running Sketches* bears many of the hallmarks of the travel writing genre, including numerous passages taken directly from existing travel books (often uncredited), causing some to call his work "tedious banalities of plagiarized touristic trivia" (Peyer 276). However, Copway was working within a hundred-year-old tradition. As Pittock notes: "Tourism in Scotland began to develop from the 1760s and 1770s, and from the beginning was associated in part with the search for a Picturesque landscape, although evidence of both Scotland's history and its current modernization also played a role" (88). I argue that Copway's texts performed important work, cutting against stereotypical images of Native Americans that partially arose from the Scottish Enlightenment.

Copway's travels and texts provide an obvious connection to Irving's work since Copway was an indigenous North American who was both performing his Indianness and making his case

for full enfranchisement in the hegemonic structures of the United States. Cecilia Morgan argues that Copway's "performance of 'Indianness' and 'gentlemanliness' took place on a number of levels: it was enacted both for those audiences throughout England and Scotland who came to hear him talk about North American Aboriginal peoples *and* for his reading audience in the United States and Canada" (527-528). I read Copway and his work through the lens of Philip Deloria's *Playing Indian,* in which Deloria provides ways to interrogate the seemingly paradoxical concept of "Indians playing Indian," and the ways many indigenous North Americans have done so for a variety of reasons. Even though Deloria traces the phenomena of both whites and indigenous people playing Indian from the sixteenth century through the twentieth century, he ignores Copway. This may be due to Kahgegagahbowh's seeming desire throughout his texts (and some would argue the manner in which he conducted himself as he traveled) to embrace Enlightenment ideas. Copway often reinforced the idea that indigenous people could move from the savage stage of their youth, be taught and embrace an English way of living, and ultimately join civilization as productive citizens. While his texts are often problematic in this regard, his physical presence in places like Scotland forced his audiences to form their impressions of indigenous people on living people rather than solely on romanticized images. He may have asserted that a savage can be civilized but his physical presence contradicted works by Irving and other nineteenth-century white Americans, in that Copway certainly had not vanished from North America. Ultimately, Copway used his Indianness to open doors to travel and publication that might not have otherwise been opened. His life and work encapsulated the complicated notions of a Scottish Enlightenment view of stadial history as he moved between nations, cultures, and identities.

Traversing geographical boundaries was, of course, a much different experience for black men and women than it was for whites in the nineteenth century. That said, the influence of the Scottish Enlightenment and geography was no less impactful on black American's writings than it was on indigenous people of North America.[41] The focal point of chapter 3 is the life and work of the American, Jesse Ewing Glasgow, a student at the University of Edinburgh who passed away unexpectedly the year after writing a forty-seven-page John Brown narrative entitled *The Harper's Ferry Insurrection: Being An Account of the Late Outbreak in Virginia, and the Trial and Execution of, Captain John Brown, Its Hero*. The text, much like Copway's travel books, relied heavily on previously published newspaper accounts of Brown's raid, yet the unique content and editorial changes Glasgow added to the John Brown narrative are significant because Glasgow contributed an African American voice to the stories told about John Brown and Harpers Ferry. Many accounts about John Brown, written by black Americans, were diminished or ignored by most EuroAmericans. In lionizing John Brown in the immediate aftermath of the raid on Harpers Ferry, Jesse Ewing Glasgow's text cut against the American metanarrative that relegated violence to America's past while championing the progressive present.

In this chapter, I recount ways in which the Scottish university system shaped and was shaped by African American men studying and traveling abroad. Since little extant information exists regarding J. Ewing Glasgow, I examine aspects of his life abroad through the works of William Wells Brown who wrote extensively about his own time in the British Isles in *Three Years in Europe: Or, Places I Have Seen and People I Have Met*. James McCune Smith and Frederick Douglass's travels in the United Kingdom also provide points of reference regarding the black experience abroad during the nineteenth century. While Smith's relationship with John

Brown has been well-documented by John Stauffer in *The Black Hearts of Men*, Stauffer makes only passing references to the time Smith studied in Scotland. Smith earned three degrees from the University of Glasgow before returning to his home in New York, and also found a voice within the Scottish abolitionist movement as a member of the Glasgow Emancipation Society while a university student (Rice 39, 46). Frederick Douglass's writings about, and relationship with, John Brown also provide a useful contrast to J. Ewing Glasgow's John Brown narrative. Both Douglass's and Glasgow's works illustrate the dangers of black Americans who associated too closely with John Brown while living on American soil, and the ability to speak more freely about Brown and violence while traveling and living abroad.

In addition to ways traveling through, and studying in, the British Isles shaped John Brown narratives, I examine relationships people of color from the United States had with British publishers. While few nineteenth-century writers enjoyed the relationship Irving did with the house of John Murray, focusing on the publishing houses who brought J. Ewing Glasgow's *The Harper's Ferry Insurrection* to the reading public reveals ways Glasgow's text circulated throughout the British Isles. The catalogues of publishers who simultaneously produced J. Ewing Glasgow's text—Myles Macphail in Edinburgh, Thomas Murray & Son in Glasgow, and Simpkin, Marshall, & Co. in London—illustrate how people of color forged relationships with publishers interested in disseminating works that subverted hegemonic structures in the United States and the larger transatlantic community. J. Ewing Glasgow's John Brown narrative was influenced by the communities in which he was raised in the United States and the communities in which he lived during his time in Scotland, and these communities influenced his sympathies for the potential use of violence as a form of resistance against chattel slavery in the United States.

Chapter 4 continues the focus on the black experience abroad, primarily Frederick Douglass's trips to the British Isles in 1845-47 and 1859-60. This chapter primarily focuses on the work Douglass produced while traveling in Scotland, as well as, his affinity for Scottish literature and history, specifically the works of Walter Scott and Robert Burns. Douglass himself informed readers of his *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass, an American Slave* (1845) and his third autobiography, *The Life and Times of Frederick Douglass* (1881) that he chose to change his surname from Bailey to Douglass at the suggestion of Nathan Johnson who had recently read Walter Scott's "Lady of the Lake" (*Life* 207). Douglass embraced the Scottish "Black Douglas[s]" connection most publically in his letter to A.C.C. Thompson that appeared in *The Liberator* in which Douglass contends: "If I should meet you now, amid the free hills of Old Scotland, where the ancient 'black Douglass' [*sic*] once met his foes, I presume I might summon sufficient fortitude to look you full in the face" ("Letter From Frederick Douglass"). And, while this posturing is consistent with the public persona Douglass often adopted in many of his public appearances, the historical "Black Douglas" of Scottish literature was a much more violent character than Frederick Douglass. Throughout Douglass's writings, he used the works of Scott and Burns, as he navigated his own views on the effectiveness of violence, both as means of self-defense and as a political tool to be used in the efforts to abolish slavery in the United States.

Douglass's voyages to the British Isles were precipitated, in part, by threats of violence. While Douglass's travels in the British Isles as an employee of the American Anti-Slavery Society provided him an occupation, leaving the United States also diminished the threat of being captured and returned to the violent institution of slavery, a risk that had increased due to the publication of his *Narrative*. The threat of violence against Douglass was even greater in 1859 when he was under indictment after being linked to John Brown's raid on Harpers Ferry.[42]

Between these two trips to the British Isles, Douglass made his first foray into fiction with the publication of *The Heroic Slave*, a historical novella in which Douglass explored, among other things, the use of violence as a weapon against enslavement. I read Douglass's fictionalized account of Madison Washington's rebellion aboard the *Creole* against William Wells Brown's account which is a part of Brown's monograph *The Negro in the American Revolution: His Heroism and His Fidelity.* In addition to providing readers with another view of Douglass's shifting views on the use of violence, a comparison to Brown's account of the *Creole* rebellion reveals how Douglass used the rebellion to argue for the importance of whites' involvement in the fight against slavery. Douglass's *The Heroic Slave* is also relevant to this study in that it was first published in 1853 as part of *Autographs for Freedom.* Given that *Autographs* was republished for a British audience, we are able to see how Douglass's account circulated within the British Isles.

Finally, this chapter examines way that Douglass's works emulated elements of Scottish Enlightenment thinking, specifically as it related to a stadial view of history and the unification of people and places. I focus on letters and speeches Douglass delivered while traveling in Scotland, specifically a speech he delivered in Glasgow in March 1860, "The Constitution of the United States: Is it Pro-slavery or Antislavery?" This speech is of particular interest not only because Douglass delivered it in Scotland, but also because it is, in part, a response to Scotland's most famous abolitionist, George Thompson, who had delivered a speech a month earlier that was critical of Douglass's view of the U. S. Constitution. Three additional lectures that Douglass delivered during the 1860s in the midst of the American Civil War—"Lecture on Pictures" (1861), "Age of Pictures" (1862), and "Pictures and Progress" (1864)—demonstrate what Douglass envisioned for the United States once the regenerative violence of the American Civil

War passed. Douglass's vision is rife with hopes of a nation able to leave behind its savage nature and continue its progress towards civilization.

Nineteenth-century, print culture, specifically works created while travelling abroad, facilitated ways for people in antebellum America to reimagine community on local, regional, national, and international levels as forms of resistance against hegemonic structures. Underrepresented populations employed books, pamphlets, and newspapers to (re)establish communities as means of potentially undoing the very work of building repressive national institutions that print culture was instrumental in constructing at the expense of these vulnerable communities. Paramount to a discussion of ways travel to any "foreign" location influenced nineteenth-century writers, whether white, black, or indigenous is considering the role of nation and nationality. At the risk of oversimplifying the complex relationship between land, labor, migration and notions of nationality in the nineteenth century, ideas of nation largely diverged depending on one's skin color and cultural associations. For many people who identified as white, the idea of an ever expanding nation westward was inevitable, with or without slave labor and irrespective of indigenous peoples who inhabited the land. For many blacks, of course, there was a desire for freedom of movement; for enslaved people, it was a movement away from enslavement into complete personhood, and for many free blacks, it was a desire for free movement geographically, socially, and politically. For both enslaved and free blacks, there was a desire to enjoy the same autonomy as their white counterparts. The challenge for nineteenth-century U.S. writers of color was that endorsing violence against hegemonic structures in the *present* was nearly always cause for further exclusion from the American metanarrative. The idea that the true American spirit was embodied in those who claimed the rebellious violence of the past but eschewed violence in the present unraveled, of course, each time a new crisis arrived

(as it would at the beginning of the American Civil War) but it was almost immediately reinscribed in the narrative once conflict had ceased.

CHAPTER II

VIOLENT TRAITS OF AN AMERICAN CHARACTER:

WASHINGTON IRVING'S *SKETCH-BOOK* IN SCOTLAND

In May1820, Washington Irving wrote to a fellow American writer, describing the inroads he had managed in London literary circles, namely hobnobbing with Britain's literati—Sir Walter Scott, Thomas Campbell, Robert Southey and others—in the publishing offices of John Murray II, claiming "it is understood to be a matter of privilege, and that you must have a general invitation from Murray" (Smiles 2: 130).[43] While Irving's letter is braggadocios, dropping names of well-known writers implies that one's own name is, or should be, mentioned in the same breath, Irving's assertion that to be among this company is "a matter of privilege" suggests a measure of Irving's self-awareness. Irving's travels throughout Europe are indicative of the unrestricted movement privileged, white, American males enjoyed in the nineteenth century, at home and abroad. Irving's decision to seek out and develop a relationship with Murray, Francis Jeffrey, founder of *The Edinburgh Review,* and Scott (among others) several years before 1820 also indicates Irving understood the import of one's physical presence in a place. Irving's acceptance into Murray's circle was not immediate: Irving's entreaties to publish American writers had been rebuffed twice by Murray, once from a distance when Irving had acted as an agent of sorts on behalf of a Philadelphia publisher and, again in 1819, when Irving delivered parts of his *The Sketch-Book of Geoffrey Crayon, Gent*. to Murray's office, and Murray politely declined to publish the book.[44] Murray ultimately relented and published a London edition of *The Sketch-Book* (1820), an edition that due to the addition of "Traits of Indian Character" and "Philip of Pokanoket," further circulated the ideals of the Scottish

Enlightenment through the metanarrative of a civilized United States built upon a violent (distant) past.[45]

By 1820, Irving had published *A History of New York*, edited the U.S. edition of Thomas Campbell's poetry, served as editor for *The Analectic Magazine* for two years (1812-1814), made Sir Walter Scott's acquaintance, and published the U.S. edition of *The Sketch-Book* (*The Sketch-Book* xxxvi). So well-known was the name and literary style of Washington Irving in American literary circles that an 1819 reviewer from *The Analectic Magazine* wrote of *The Sketch-Book*: "It will be needless to inform any who have read the book, that it is from the pen of Mr. Irving" (Review of *The Sketch-Book* 78). Yet, like many of his contemporary American writers, Irving pursued further legitimacy from the British literati, and he had the means and connections to travel abroad in pursuit of this goal. After floundering as a student, halfheartedly practicing law, and enjoying a modicum of success writing for newspapers, Irving's first tour of Europe in 1804 was financed by his brothers, who hoped travel would improve both Irving's "physical and intellectual" state (B. Jones 28).[46] The trip would serve as the catalyst for a lifelong love of travel and a desire to recount those travels in print. Years later, in the opening essay of *The Sketch-Book*, "The Voyage," Irving recounted the sensation, ostensibly speaking for all white Americans, when "he first comes in sight of Europe. There is a volume of associations with the very name. It is the land of promise, teeming with every thing of which his childhood has heard, or on which his studious years have pondered" (18). And, as Irving recounted in the preface to the Revised Edition of *The Sketch-Book* (1848), all but two of the essays were written while he lived in England, and twenty-seven of the thirty-four essays have a European setting/focus. So Eurocentric is Irving's text that the editors of *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* bemoaned the fact that "Mr. Irving has judged fit to publish his Sketch-Book in

America earlier than in Britain; but at all events he is doing himself great injustice, by not having an edition printed here, of every Number, after it has appeared at New York" ("On the Writings" 556). Irving himself agreed and, after self-funding a limited release of *The Sketch-Book* in London, he finally prevailed with the house of Murray (*The Sketch-Book* 5-6).

Scholarship on *The Sketch-Book* is as varied as the eclectic mixture of essays the collection contains. Considering the work as a whole, a text that "paved the way" for the "short story cycle" (J. Smith 4-5)—i.e. related essays/stories that function as cohesive narratives—has produced readings of *The Sketch-Book* that parse the narrative voice of Geoffrey Crayon, the transnational traveling storyteller; Knickerbocker, the satirical historian; and the biographical Irving himself, an Anglophile attempting to escape professional and financial failure.[47] Given the quasi-autobiographical nature of the text, its concern with historical events, and pieces clearly presented as fiction, questions of genre are typically of interest for those critically assessing this work. The preponderance of recent critical work which considers *The Sketch-Book* as a whole acknowledges Jeffrey Rubin-Dorsky's *Adrift in the Old World: The Psychological Pilgrimage of Washington Irving* in which Rubin-Dorsky argues the persona Irving creates is "the displaced self adrift in a mutable world" (xv). As Meredith L. McGill reminds us, Edgar Allan Poe was one of the first critics to take issue with the Crayon persona because he established "a tone of studied idleness that works to reinscribe the difference between labor and leisure" (232). While *The Sketch-Book* as a whole presents a myriad of issues to consider, I am most interested in Irving's Indian essays, both as standalone essays when they first appeared in *The Analectic Magazine,* and in their revised format as they circulate through the British Isles in Murray's 1820 edition of the text. If the Indian essays as they appeared in Murray's edition had been unchanged from how they appeared in *The Analectic Magazine*, then their inclusion might

be attributed to a publisher simply desiring more text. However, the essays do, in fact, undergo significant revision, which reflect the influence of Scottish Enlightenment thinking.

The time that elapsed between 1814 when Irving first published "Traits" and "Philip" in *The Analectic Magazine* and their revised republication in the 1820 Murray edition of *The Sketch-Book* is important because Irving's tour of Scotland in 1817 and his interactions with the elite heirs of the Scottish Enlightenment shaped what these essays would become once they reached a wider transnational audience. Most scholars gloss the essays' *Analectic* referents and their revised counterparts as "modified versions" (Burstein 258) of essays "pulled out of [Irving's] files" (Maddox 40), simply "omitted from the original American edition" (Eberwein n.p.) which, for one reason or another, found their way into the 1820 English edition of *The Sketch-Book.* The 1814 and 1820 versions of these two essays are often conflated (Nakamura 132) or unacknowledged (Smiles and Hanssen).[48] Even Stanley T. Williams, whose reconstruction of two of Irving's journals, *Tour in Scotland 1817 and Other Manuscript Notes by Washington Irving* and *While Preparing Sketch Book &c. 1817 by Washington Irving*, appears confused about the Indian essays' chronology. He argues that notes related to Native Americans in Irving's 1817 journals "attain final form in two essays in *The Sketch-Book*" (*Notes* 51n1) when, in fact, both essays as they appear for an American audience in 1814 are Irving's well-articulated thoughts on the plight of nineteenth-century Native Americans, and his reading of the historical King Philip.[49] Critical editions of *The Sketch-Book* place little emphasis on the differences between 1814 and 1820, merely noting that "Traits" and "Philip" were added in 1820 (*The Sketch-Book* xxxi). "The Indian sketches have received very little critical attention," Laura J. Murray opines, "perhaps because they seem so conventional" (n.p.).[50] My intention here is not to disparage those whose interests lie elsewhere—the transnational appeal of *The Sketch-Book*,

the narrative voice of Knickerbocker/Crayon/Irving, or producing authoritative texts—or those whose research tools did not include easily accessible digital surrogates of vast amounts of work. Rather, this study of Irving's Indian essays addresses a gap in Irving scholarship by considering ways Irving's time spent in Scotland in 1817 informed the revised essays that appeared in 1820.

As it appeared in 1814 in *The Analectic Magazine* "Traits of Indian Character" begins with a deferential tone towards Irving's white American readers who might not be interested in reading about indigenous people with whom they are at war. And, while Irving does refer to Indians as savages, he quickly asserts that they have been "doubly wronged by the white men"—once, by removal from their land, and a second time by historical accounts written by whites (145). Irving suggests that, prior to contact with whites, Indians lived in a pure state and, as such, they were unable to withstand the vast temptations and vices of "civilization." The heart of the essay is an attempt to refute prejudices whites held against Indians—a quickness towards hostility, mercilessness towards defeated foes, and use of unfair strategies employed during war. While Irving's tone is condescending towards Indians, he does attempt to elucidate the hypocrisy of whites' complaints about Indians, namely that EuroAmericans engage in violent methods as much as their Indian counterparts do. Irving does not provide concrete solutions to address the wrongs committed by whites against Indians but rather concludes the essay with the implication that nothing can, or should be, done since Indians were quickly disappearing from North America.

While in "Traits" Irving toggled between descriptions of whites and Indians interacting in the past and present, in "Philip of Pokanoket" Irving styled himself as an historian concerned only with the past. Irving's account of King Philip's War tracks closely with the extant versions Irving had at hand, which he indicates in a note at the essay's beginning: "[The following

anecdotes, illustrative of Indian character, are gathered from various sources, that have every appearance of being authentic. It was thought needless to encumber the page with references]" ("Philip" 502).[51] That said, Irving's purpose was not to simply add to the historical record; he editorializes throughout the essay. The opening paragraphs find Irving waxing nostalgic about a time when people of every race "flourished in savage life" versus the more mundane "civilized life" that some people lived in the nineteenth century. The nineteenth-century, civilized life, however, applies only to whites, and Irving envies Indians' ability to continue in a wild state. While his view of contemporary indigenous people is problematic, he is critical of "how easily the colonists were moved to hostility by the lust of conquest; how merciless and exterminating was their warfare" (503). While he drew heavily upon the colonists' accounts for his essay, he seemed to view his own essay as a corrective of sorts. The bulk of the essay recounts the early days of English colonists in the seventeenth century Americas, the assistance they received from Massasoit, the struggles between the English and Massasoit's son, Alexander, and then, of course, the long period of unrest and bloodshed between the English and Philip, also known as Metacomet. The essay concludes with Philip's betrayal by his own people, his subsequent defeat by the English, and the English's desecration of Philip's remains. And, much like Irving's "Traits," the final image Irving gives of Philip is as an Indian who has vanished "without an eye to weep his fall, or a friendly hand to record his struggle" (515).

Irving's exegesis for including the Indian essays in his 1820 Murray edition has been largely ignored by scholars, as noted above, but there was interest in the essays themselves in the nineteenth century. Lepore traces ways Irving's "Philip" circulated in the United States and Britain, influencing Edwin Forrest's performance of the popular drama *Metamora,* along with epic poems related to King Philip (194-197). [52] Susan Manning contends Irving's Indian essays

mesh with the "hospitable structure of reminiscence" (x) and only briefly discusses their inclusion in the Oxford critical edition of *The Sketch-Book* as evidence of the ways the collection evolved over time (xxxi). Konkle's summation of "Traits" provides a succinct reason for why the essays would have appealed to nineteenth-century white American and European readers: "Irving's is the standard romantic portrait of noble savages: he sympathizes with their suffering; he praises the inherent qualities they possessed before they came into contact with settlers; he comments on how their different inherent qualities doom them to extinction with the advent of civilization" (113). I also agree with Maddox's contention that once the essays appear in *The Sketch-Book,* they "[reinforce] for his English audience the Americanness of his collection . . . and his own claim, as an American writer, to what he called the 'wonderfully striking and sublime' material provided by the history of Indians" (40). However, in addition to making *The Sketch-Book* more distinct in the marketplace, Irving's Indian essays become, as evidenced by the examples above, for better or worse, *part of* "the history of Indians" for a period of time.

Scholars have demonstrated how many narratives written by white Americans in the seventeenth century worked to erase Native Americans' accounts of relationships between indigenous people and the early colonists. Jean O' Brien, in *Firsting and Lasting: Writing Indians Out of Existence in New England,* calls these accounts written by white Americans, "replacement narratives," arguing "their accounts of the past, present, and future entailed a process of physically and imaginatively replacing Indians on the landscape of New England" (55). Irving continued in this replacement vein with the essays that first comprised *The Sketch-Book.* Other than scattered references to Indian corn, the only piece that mentioned indigenous people was "The Legend of Sleepy Hollow," a reference which reinforced the idea that white, colonial settlers had replaced Indians: "an old Indian chief, the prophet or wizard of his tribe,

held his powwows there before the country was discovered" (292). Irving reinserts Native Americans into the American narrative when he includes "Traits" and "Philip" into editions of *The Sketch-Book*; however, the stories these two essays contain are still told from a Eurocentric point-of-view. Lisa Brooks in *Our Beloved Kin: A New History of King Philip's War*, makes no reference to Irving's rendition of King Philip's War as she performs the important work of (re)telling indigenous narratives. Instead, she extends a "call to others—community-based historians and language keepers, as well as academic scholars—to engage in the *activity* of *pildowi ojmowogan*, recovering" indigenous peoples' firsthand accounts (302). However, understanding how Irving's Indian essays were influenced by the Scottish Enlightenment, and the ways they (re)circulated throughout the United Kingdom, helps us better understand how nineteenth-century white Americans' appropriation of indigenous narratives worked to support hegemonic structures that were attempting to erase indigenous people themselves.

The House of John Murray

While Irving had established himself as a writer in his own right in the United States, and his literary reputation in England was emerging prior to his association with John Murray, Murray's publication of Irving's work was significant because Murray's reputation for the legitimization and circulation of a writer's ideas/texts in the early part of the nineteenth century was second to none. In the nineteenth century, the house of Murray published Charles Darwin's *The Origin of Species,* works by Sir Walter Scott, Lord Byron, Jane Austen, Herman Melville, and others. John Murray publishing was founded by John McMurray, who dropped the "Mc" from the family name when, in 1768, as "a twenty-three-year-old marine lieutenant retired on half pay, [he] purchased for approximately four hundred pounds the bookselling establishment of William Sandby under the Sign of the Ship at 32 Fleet Street, London" ("John Murray (London)"

203).[53] So influential was the "John Murray" brand that when John Murray V, who had no children, named his nephew, Arnaud Robin Grey as his successor, Grey legally changed his name to John G. 'Jock' Murray "to preserve the identity of the house" (214). Name changes within the Murray family illustrate the business acumen the Murray publishing house maintained throughout its existence. John Murray I's inclination to make "John Murray" (as opposed to McMurray) the brand seems prescient. The etymology of "Mac" or "Mc" is "son of," and the John Murray name, as it was passed from generation to generation, provided the illusion that "John Murray" was one continuous publishing force, and the "son of" no one. The title pages of works the house published do not designate Murray II, III, etc.—they simply read: "London: John Murray." By 1820, when Irving became associated with the house, it was already understood "the most valued status symbol to which an author could aspire [was] the name of John Murray on his published works" (McClary viii).

Changing the Murray name and cultivating the Murray brand also matter because it is emblematic of political and cultural tensions within eighteenth and nineteenth century England and Scotland; tensions related to civilizing savages that Irving's Indian essays perpetuated.[54] John Murray I changed his last name ostensibly "in deference to the anti-Scottish feeling in London at the time, one of his first actions as a bookseller was to drop what one of his friends called 'the wild highland Mac' from his name" ("John Murray (1737-1793)" n.p.).[55] This is not to suggest that the Murray family attempted to excise all Scottish influence or association from their lives and business; quite the contrary. The first three generations of Murrays either attended Edinburgh University or private primary schools in Edinburgh for a period of time. When John Murray IV married Katherine Evelyn from Aberdeenshire, an acquaintance commented "that the Murrays always returned to Scotland for their

wives" (Zachs n.p.). Anecdotal evidence aside, John Murray I may have changed the family name and started a business in the heart of London but he also "cultivated good relations with booksellers in Ireland and Edinburgh, as well as in London and the English provincial towns, and recruited authors, especially from Scottish universities, by using these contacts" (Feather 77). In much the same way Murray Pittock contends that the major thinkers and writers of the Scottish Enlightenment sought to forge a cultural affiliation with England while living in Scotland, one could say (as Pittock says of the Enlightenment writers) the Murray family "partook of the culture of the localities they sought to transcend: the associations of their thinking were Scottish" (70). And, of course, most relative to this discussion, Murray II published some of Scott's most iconic works: his Waverly novels, which romanticized Scotland's "savage" history and safely ensconced "the wild highland Mac" in the past.

The Murray publishing house also came to prominence during a period of ongoing changes within the so-called United Kingdom. The 1707 Act of Union precipitated a somewhat unified political system between England and Scotland that impacted many realms of eighteenth-century life, including the bookselling and publishing industry. Near the end of the eighteenth century, when John Murray I entered the industry, several significant changes had been at work. The market for books expanded, and book traders were increasingly becoming book publishers. Legal cases also effected change during this period as many perpetual copyright laws expired, which ended elite publishing house's domination of certain texts (Feather 52-73). While London-based booksellers and publishers held most rights to publish and sell texts in the seventeenth century, the 1710 Act (which became known as the Copyright Act) proved particularly significant in the Scottish publishing industry: "The key provision of the Act was that all existing rights were confirmed as the property of their current owners for a period of

twenty-one years; new copies were protected for fourteen years, with the possibility of a further fourteen thereafter" (Feather 55). Part of the early financial success of Murray publishing was Murray I's decision to take advantage of works entering the public domain; he bought "shares with other booksellers and reprint[ed] the works of such writers as Shakespeare, Milton, Defoe, Fielding, Sterne, and Smollett," (Zachs n.p.). Murray II diligently worked to capitalize on revised copyright laws to ensure ownership of new works the house acquired ("John Murray (1737-1793)"). Part of the acumen John Murray I and II demonstrated in their business dealings was their ability to inhabit the best of both worlds: they were housed in London in the heart of the publishing industry, and yet they maintained relationships with their Scottish roots, using those connections to their advantage.

The 1820 Murray *Sketch-Book*

In many regards, Murray was the ideal publisher to house the works of Irving in the British Isles. Irving's call for American writers to regard England as a "perpetual volume of reference" in the pursuit of the desire to "strengthen and to embellish [the U.S.] national character" and to minimize the literary bickering about who read American books suggested an affinity with the Murrays' assimilationist tendencies (*Sketch-Book* 57). Part of the reason Irving fostered a relationship with Murray publishing was because pirated editions of his work were being circulated in Europe, and he understood that "such publishers in England were not so apt to tamper with a title produced under the imprint of an established firm like Murray's" (McClary viii-ix). Irving understood the value of cultivating a relationship with Murray long before Irving became one of Murray's favorites. In an 1817 letter, Irving wrote to his brother, Peter:

> Murray left town yesterday for some watering-place, so that I have had no further talk with him, but am to keep my eye on his advertisements and write to him

> when anything offers that I may think worth republishing in America. I shall find him a most valuable acquaintance on my return to London. (qtd. in P. Irving 374)

And Irving, as evidenced by his correspondence with the Murrays that spanned forty years (and two generations of John Murrays), was as concerned about his text's marketability as he was about its content.

As has been oft recounted, Murray was not immediately impressed with Irving or the content of his *Sketch-Book.* In the preface to the Revised Edition, Irving himself reprinted Murray's initial rejection. After Murray's tepid compliment of Irving's "tasteful talents," and apologies for being too busy to respond in person, Murray concluded with his reasoning for rejecting the text:

> If it would not suit me to engage in the publication of your present work, it is only because I do not see that scope in the nature of it which would enable me to make those satisfactory accounts between us, without which I feel no satisfaction in engaging—but I will do all I can to promote their circulation, and shall be most ready to attend to any future plan of yours. (*Sketch-Book* 6)

Irving then recounted how he employed the help of Scott, who returned to Murray and convinced him to "undertake the future publication of the work which he had previously declined" (9). While this is a narrative of privilege—doors were opened to Irving that would not have been open to the other writers in this study, and it is an anecdote about how business deals are often made due to personal connections—I am interested in Murray's phrase concerning the text: "I do not see that scope in the nature of it." No extant elaboration from Murray exists regarding what he found lacking in scope nor, for that matter, his change of heart in ultimately publishing *The Sketch-Book* (other than Irving's own account of Scott's intervention). As the story goes,

Murray did not feel the text was financially viable. Then, after Scott threw his influence behind the project, Murray published the London edition, which turned out to be financially rewarding for both Murray and Irving. [56]

Irving's decision to include the Indian essays in the 1820 *Sketch-Book* seems to be a strategic move on Irving's part for several reasons: throughout his life, Irving was meticulous in attempting to ensure his work succeeded in the marketplace; he prided himself on his acumen in understanding the marketplace; the essays underwent substantial revision between 1814 and 1820; and finally, they were added to what was already proving to be a successful collection of essays. After Murray initially rejected *The Sketch-Book,* John Miller of London printed it at Irving's expense but, in Irving's words, his "worthy bookseller failed before the first month was over, and the sale was interrupted" (*Sketch-Book* 9). It is difficult to know if Irving was thinking about including the Indian essays in subsequent editions but the Miller version was only one volume and includes what is known as the first four volumes of the American edition's seventeen essays (from "The Author's Account of Himself" to "The Spectre Bridegroom"). [57] Murray bought the remaining unsold stock and encouraged Irving to publish a second volume. It is important to note, as McClary asserts, the *Sketch-Book* was "already the talk of literate society" before it was "saved by Murray" (19). If *The Sketch-Book* was already becoming a success without the Indian essays before Miller's bankruptcy, it stands to reason that Irving felt some compelling reason to include them before the collection was published again by Murray.

Murray was in the publishing business to turn a profit, and Irving had turned to writing as a profession to earn a living so both men were motivated to ensure the London edition of *The Sketch-Book* succeeded financially. The fiscal state of Irving's creative works is a theme that runs throughout his correspondence with Murray publishing (both Murray II and III). [58] Shortly

after Murray published *The Sketch-Book*, he offered Irving more money because the book was selling so well. On 31 October 1820, Irving wrote to Murray in response to the praise and additional funds Murray offered: "I am astonished at the success of my writings in England, and can hardly persuade myself that it is not all a dream" (Letter to John Murray II). Later in this lengthy letter, Irving makes the link between his gratitude and financial concerns more explicit when he writes: "I am much obliged to you for what you say about my drawing on you; as in the state of my finances it will be a matter of some convenience." Irving's correspondence with John Murray III after Murray II died, were wrought with questions of copyright, re-printings, and the financial relationship between Irving and Murray publishing. In an August 1850 letter to Murray III, Irving writes: "I am grieved to find you so much cut up in the publication of my works by the cheap editions with which the market appears to be glutted. Any aid I can give in remedying the evil you may thoroughly command" (Letter to John Murray III). [59] By this point in Irving's career, he was earning significant income from both his works published in the United States and in Europe but these letters that spanned the decades of his relationship with Murray publishing indicate that he was an author fully engaged in the publication of his work.[60]

In addition to financial concerns, Irving presumably had some inclination that he wanted the London edition to be distinctly different from the U.S., or even the ill-fated Miller, edition because he prided himself on his perceived understanding of literary markets. It is possible that Murray also understood that an edition of *The Sketch-Book,* which contained unique content could strengthen his copyright claims. In Irving's 31 October 1820 letter, soon after he had proved his literary/financial value to Murray, Irving recommended that Murray republish an acquaintance's poem about King Philip's War. Even though Irving had not read the poem, he assures Murray it "is very highly spoken of, by various persons of cultivated taste." Irving offers

to send it so Murray can "determine whether the work will be desirable for republication, and what terms [he] can afford to offer" (Letter to John Murray II). Irving indicates his understanding that King Philip narratives are popular in the British Isles due, in part, to the verisimilitude of the tales. He assures Murray "these young gentlemen had visited all the scenes of King Philip's exploits: noted the scenery & collected all the historical and tradition facts that were extant" (Letter to John Murray II). That Irving recommended a text specifically related to King Philip's War also suggests he understood narratives regarding Native Americans had always done well in European markets. Since the seventeenth century, "letters or informal reports . . . printed pamphlets, gazettes, or books about the war [had been] brought by ship to ports throughout the English-speaking world" (Lepore 168). As Troy Bickham has demonstrated, reports concerning Indians in North America were widespread throughout the British press and "most Britons used Indians as benchmarks for barbarity and depravity" (64). Irving's decision to include his Indian essays in the Murray edition placed *The Sketch-Book* within a subgenre of works about Native Americans, including William Robertson's *History of America,* Jean Bernard Bossu's *Travels through the Part of North America Formerly Called Louisiana*, James Adair's *History of the American Indians,* and others, which had enjoyed popularity among the United Kingdom's reading public.

The presence of actual Native Americans traveling throughout the United Kingdom would have also primed a reading public for such works. As Jace Weaver demonstrates in *The Red Atlantic*: *American Indigenes and the Making of the Modern World, 1000-1927*, North American indigenous people had traveled across the Atlantic for hundreds of years, "as spectacles and entertainers, soldiers and sailors, tourists and explorers, captives and slaves, patronage seekers and diplomats" (16). Weaver reminds us, however, that these travels consisted

of more than bodies circulating between continents; information, material goods, culture, technology and literature were (re)passed between Europeans and Native Americans. Coll Thrush, in *Indigenous London: Native Travelers at the Heart of Empire,* broadens the geographical range of indigenous travelers from North America to include travelers from New Zealand and Australia as well. However, as the title of Thrush's text indicates, he also narrows his focus to London, recounting the ways indigenous people in the nineteenth century gazed at the city and its people as much as Londoners gazed and critiqued them. Thrush "re- or disorient[s] the city's story, casting it in its own imperial light and even, perhaps, Indigenizing it" (25). And, early in the nineteenth century, the people of Scotland may have still been circulating the immensely popular *French and Indian Cruelty; Exemplified in the Life and Various Vicissitudes of Peter Williamson, a Disbanded Solider.* Peter Williamson, as Timothy J. Shannon recounts in *Indian Captive, Indian King: Peter Williamson in America and Britain,* claimed (among other things) to have been kidnapped from Aberdeen as a child, and experienced a range of transatlantic adventures before being sent back to England as an adult. Williamson supported himself once he relocated to Edinburgh by publishing his tales of travel, and performing as an Indian. As Shannon writes, Williamson became "a self-appointed 'Indian King' who brought America to his customers in Edinburgh" (8). The importance of print culture in disseminating information about indigenous people (and those, like Williamson, playing Indian) in the British Isles is also part of the story Weaver, Thrush, and Shannon tell.

A survey of late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century monographs, pamphlets, and magazine articles emanating from Edinburgh alone indicates a marketplace eager for (mis)information about Native Americans. The Scot, Alexander Mackenzie, who immigrated as a child with his family to North America kept extensive journals about his fur trading and

explorations of Canada, which included his many observations about North American Indians, such as origin stories, dietary habits, and burying rituals (Hopwood 219-221). The journals were published as *Voyages from Montreal, on the River St. Laurence, through the Continent of North America, to the Frozen Pacific Ocean; In the Years 1781 and 1793,* in London and Edinburgh in 1801 and again as a two-volume set in the United States and Canada (1802). In 1802, *The Edinburgh Magazine* published a favorable review of Mackenzie's work along with extensive passages from *Voyages* ("Extracts" 113-121). More popular than Mackenzie's work, however, was Captain Jonathan Carver's *Three Years Travels through the Interior Parts of North-America,* first published in Philadelphia in 1784 and 1796, and then in Edinburgh in 1798 and 1807, and in Glasgow in 1805. Carver's text, as one of its subtitles indicates, contains his extensive observations regarding the "History of the Genius, Manners, and Customs of the Indians." The transnational appeal of Carver's text is also evident in the dedication page Carver writes, addressed to Joseph Banks, Esq., President of the Royal Society. Carver notes how grateful he is that *Three Years* "received [Bank's] sanction" and that his "patronage will unquestionably give [the reading public] assurance of its merit" (n.p.).[61]

In addition to these first-person monographs that circulated between Scotland and the United States, content related to North American Indians appeared frequently in Scottish magazines, especially *The Scots Magazine*, in the years prior to the Murray edition of Irving's *Sketch-Book.* A survey of the magazine between 1755 and 1820 reveals a consistent interest in the indigenous people of North America. Volume 17 (1755) contains "A Summary of the Public Affairs in 1754," which recounts skirmishes of the previous year between the British and French in North America, and the role that alliances with Indians played (70-72); "A Compendious View of the Incroachments [*sic*] of the French in America" continues on the same theme of

relationships between the English, French, and Indians but harkens back to the earlier part of the eighteenth century (477-481); and, while all these accounts contain references to violence, "Extracts of a letter printed at Boston . . . relating to the defeat of the French and Indians at Lake George" is particularly vivid in its descriptions of violence, at times offering blow-by-blow accounts of skirmishes, complete with body counts and scalps taken (641-645).

Multiple accounts related to Native Americans are also included in the 1760 edition of *The Scots Magazine* (vol. 22), most notably an essay titled "History," which includes "Further Accounts of the Cherokee Indian War." The article includes gruesome descriptions of violent acts perpetrated by Indians on whites (and never vice versa). Readers are informed that after one particular skirmish, whites were "terribly cut with tomahawks, and left for dead, and others scalped, yet alive" ("History" 212). In 1764, we find articles in *The Scots Magazine* (vol. 26) regarding Indians' "attacks" or "good behavior" (473); in 1809, a reprint of Thomas Jefferson's message to the Senate and House of Representatives in which the President hoped for ongoing "commerce with the Indians" and "the progress of civilization" ("American States" 51); and, in the same 1809 volume, a review of Thomas Campbell's recently published poem "Gertrude of Wyoming," a lengthy poem set in Pennsylvania. The unnamed reviewer summarized the action of the poem as "a hostile band of Indians, who, after storming an English fort, were butchering all it contained" ("Scottish Review" 280). The reviewer suggests this was not Campbell's finest effort since his talents lay in capturing national tragedies rather than individual sorrow. That said, one important element of the poem resonated with the reviewer: the "descriptive of Indian character, and Indian warfare.—These are drawn in the strongest and most glowing colours, and produce by far the finest passages in the poem" (281-282). These examples from *The Scots*

Magazine demonstrate that a Scottish reading public would have had great interest in a text such as Irving's *Sketch-Book* that contained information regarding Indians in North America.

One final volume of *The Scots Magazine* (vol. 86) is particularly relevant to this discussion as it was published in 1820, the same year as Murray's edition of *The Sketch-Book.* Like the examples referenced above, this volume contains several articles related to North American Indians but the volume itself is bookended with an opening article, which posits Indian action and language as poetry, and a closing article, which is a review of Irving's *History of New York.* The article, "On the Causes of the Excellence of Early Poetry," refers to Indians as "savages" but claims "the whole conduct and language of the old Indian is full of poetry" (6). The writer of this article, identified only as "W," argued that every sign and sound Indians had for objects contained the origins of metaphor and, since Indians were indigenous to North America, the signs and sounds they made referred to the original in nature. Later in this volume, the same "W" argued that Indians were naturally inclined to music and musical instruments, evidenced by their war songs and fascination with European musical instruments ("On the Connection" 205-210). The review of Irving's *History of New York*, a text that uses satire to criticize the United States government's treatment of Native Americans, is laudatory of Irving's *History*, as well as, his recently published Murray *Sketch-Book*. Most importantly, the reviewer weighs in on the "who reads an American book?" debate by claiming Irving may indeed be the first American writer worth reading. Just before the article concludes, the reviewer writes:

> There cannot, indeed, be a prouder testimony to the spirit of national liberality, by which this great country is distinguished, than the unexampled rapidity of the sale of these American productions; and it is with no slight satisfaction that *we* can lay claim to have been among the first journalists in this island who were sensible of

> their great merit, and who, without hesitation, predicted their success. ("Remarks" 548)

Irving's 1820 *The Sketch-Book*, which included two new essays about Indians, entered a marketplace eager for such reading material and, according to at least one Scottish magazine, sold with "unexampled rapidity."

Long after Irving and Murray enjoyed a mutual financial relationship, Irving offered his (ostensibly unsolicited) advice about the types of projects Murray should publish. For instance, in a 14 January 1828 letter to Murray, Irving complains:

> I understand from Mr Everett that he had offered you his book on America for publication, but that you have declined undertaking it, fearing that it might not prove profitable. Of the state of public demand for works of this kind you are of course the best judge, but if, as I am inclined to believe, there is a lively interest at present in England as to the situation and prospects of the various American Empires, and their influence on European affairs, I cannot but think the work of Mr Everett would be highly acceptable to the public. (Letter to John Murray II) [62]

While Irving deferred to Murray's literary tastes, he continued for two more pages extolling the virtues of Everett and his writing, asserting that there would be much interest in the English market for such a text. This letter encapsulates Murray and Irving's relationship: Irving is dogged in his promotion of a literary acquaintance, and he is confident in his understanding of what an English reading public desired from America's writers.[63]

Part of the way Irving maintained his finger on the pulse of the English literary markets was by forging relationships with successful editors, namely Murray, Jeffrey, and Blackwood,

and by reading the periodicals they published. In an 1817 letter from Abbotsford, Irving writes to his brother Peter: "Before I left Edinburgh I saw [William] Blackwood in his shop. It was accidental—my conversing with him. He found out who I was; is extremely anxious to make an American arrangement; wishes to get me to write for his Magazine" (P. Irving 382). In the midst of revising his Indian essays for Murray's 1820 *The Sketch-Book*, then, it is easy to imagine Irving looked for mentions of his work in *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine.* In March 1819, in an essay titled, "On the State of Learning in the United States of America," an unnamed writer had much to say about America, its Indian narratives, and Irving himself. The opening lines of the essay are: "Learning, in its limited and appropriate sense, is not to be found in America" (641). The writer does, however, cite the importance of clergy in colonial America and the works they created. The clergy "produced a number of curious and important works, which are far less known in this country than they deserve" (645). In addition to the prolific Mathers, the *Blackwood's* writer cites "Hubbard's Indian Wars" and "Eliot's Indian Grammar; and his Translation of the Bible into the language of the Massachusetts Indians—a work which gained him the title of the Indian apostle" (645). After claiming Benjamin Franklin as the only philosopher to hail from America, the writer posits: "if the whole stock of their literature were set on fire to morrow [*sic*], no scholar would feel the loss" (646). The writer does allow that "Mr. Irving has shewn much talent and great humour in his Salmagundi and Knickerbocker, and they are exceedingly pleasant books, especially to one who understands the local allusions" (646). If indeed Irving kept current with the most influential magazines published by Murray, Jeffrey, and Blackwood, then he understood that the inclusion of essays about American Indians would be welcomed by the English literati.

If we assume, then, that in addition to financial and legal concerns, Irving was cognizant of the marketplace, evidenced by the aforementioned letters he wrote to Murray publishing, the two Indian essays bear further study in regards to the message they circulated throughout the British Isles. As noted in the introduction to this study, a narrative in which an historical Native American, Philip, becomes an American tragic hero who understood the savage could not endure in civilization, was a convenient narrative for white Americans in the nineteenth century who were working to remove indigenous peoples from their land and relocating them to a romanticized memory. In addition to supporting what Patrick Wolfe calls the "settler-colonial logic of elimination" of indigenous people, Irving's two essays are also often sympathetic towards the plight of indigenous people and highly critical of U.S. policies towards them (387). Irving understood a marketplace informed by Scottish Enlightenment works would be receptive to his (re)telling of English and EuroAmericans' experiences with the indigenous people of North America because readers were interested in narratives dedicated to discussions of how civilized people had overcome savages in their past and present.

A perusal of the volume of *The Analectic Magazine* in which both "Traits" (February) and "Philip" (June) originally appeared indicates the worldview Irving, as editor, was curating and cultivating as early as 1814.[64] For instance, among the "Scientific and Literary Intelligence from late British Publications," we find this eclectic survey of brief articles: a correspondence on the "variation of the compass"; M. Julius Von Klaproth's "Origins of North American Indians"; a refutation that Lord Byron received financial compensation for his works, along with a confirmation from "Mr. Murray the publisher of [*The Giaour* and *The Bride of Abydos* who] can truly attest that no part of the sale of those have ever touched his lordship's hands"; a notice that "A new Literary and Political Review has appeared in Edinburgh, under the title of the New

British Review, or Constitutional Journal"; and finally, a notice that a new work was forthcoming from "Miss Potter, author of the Scottish Chiefs" (526). This seemingly random page of works sampled from "British publications" encapsulates many of Irving's main concerns as related to his writing life: a fondness of travel, an eye towards Edinburgh (and a journal that suggests an affinity for Enlightenment thinking), keeping tabs on John Murray's publishing house, works about Scottish chiefs, and the origins of the indigenous people of North America.

1817: *Notes* and *A Tour in Scotland*

Further evidence of ways Irving's interests and reading habits shaped the revised versions of "Traits" and "Philip" are found in the two journals, *Notes While Preparing Sketch-Book &c* and *Tour in Scotland 1817 and Other Manuscript Notes* that Irving kept in 1817 while touring England and Scotland. Williams asserts the chronology and pagination of the original notebooks indicate that most of the notes in both journals were made during 1817. The inclusion of notes related specifically to the United States, such as "the notes on colonial life and Indian warfare," Williams contends "prove nothing, since Irving's characteristic letter to Henry Brevoort asking for books shows that he was studying these subjects while in England" (Williams *Notes* 5). The only objection I have to Williams's contention, as I alluded to above, is that he suggests these notes about American Indians are in preparation for "Traits" and "Philip" as they will appear in 1820 and subsequent editions. However, this ignores the fact that these two essays already appeared in *The Analectic Magazine* in 1814, and again in 1816 in Elias Boudinot's, *A Star in the West* (a text I will discuss later in this chapter). Irving was not simply jotting down notes in his journals from other accounts of conflicts between Native Americans, the English, and EuroAmericans; he was presumably using his own *Analectic* copies (or memories of his completed work) as he worked on revising them. References to Indians in the journals indicate

Irving was actively thinking about these two essays as he was traveling throughout Scotland and England in 1817.

Gleaning what Irving was reading, based on his notes in the journals, also indicates that while he preparing the Murray edition of *The Sketch-Book,* he was immersed in literature related to both North America and Scotland. During this time period, Irving was reading *Select Scottish Songs, Ancient and Modern; with Critical Observations and Biographical Notices* by Robert Burns (1810), which includes the poetry of an obscure eighteenth-century Scottish poet, Jean Adam (45); and a narrative about the Scottish nobleman, Marquis of Montrose, (49). Throughout his journals, Irving also makes numerous references and allusions to works by Burns and Scott. In addition to creative works, Irving made notes related to Thomas Hutchinson's *The History of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay* (1760), Increase Mather's *The History of King Philip's War, Early History of New England* and *A New and Further Narrative of the State of New England,* Cotton Mather's *Magnalia Christi Americana,* and the popular histories by William Hubbard and Thomas Church (51-52). *Notes* ends with a list of additional books Irving may have been reading. Williams contends the list is "almost undecipherable" (90) but it contains reference to works that all appeared in 1817: a two-volume collection of Shakespeare's work by N. Drake, a novel named *Manners, Knight of St. John* (a romance) by Anna M. Porter, and a history translated from French called *Colonies and the Present American Revolution.* Irving's reading list during this time period, steeped as it is in Romantic works and early American and Scottish history, may have influenced his decision to revise and include his own Indian essays in the Murray edition of *The Sketch-Book.*

Who Irving visited in Scotland in late 1817 is as important as what he was reading in terms of what shaped the revisions he made to the Indian essays. Upon his arrival in Edinburgh,

while Irving toured the city, he passed Archibald Constable's booksellers shop but his thoughts were on Murray: "*Murrays* [*sic*] *shop* is equally unimposing tho' more fashionably situated & elegant in its air" (*Tour* 28). He was eager to meet the man credited with codifying the Scottish enlightenment movement: Dugald Stewart. Irving writes about a dinner with Francis Jeffrey: "Was disappointed in not meeting Dugald Stewart. His Wife & Daughter were there, but he was prevented by some circumstance from coming" (32-33).[65] And, while Irving's admiration of Scott has been established, his first visit to Scott's home in Abbotsford (which turned into a three-day visit), captured in two lengthy letters to Peter, dated 1 September 1817 and 6 September 1861 warrants attention. Irving describes the initial meeting as: "the glorious old minstrel himself came limping to the gate, took me by the hand in a way that made me feel as if we were old friends" (381). He praises Scott's "family, his neighbors, his domestics, his very dogs and cats; everything that comes within his influence seems to catch a beam of that sunshine that plays round his heart" (382). Every day with Scott, Irving contends, "is loaded with story, incident, or song"; and he was overwhelmed with "the world of ideas, images, and impressions that have been crowded upon [his] mind" (381). The meeting with Scott was so momentous that Irving recounts it multiple times: the visit is noted in *A Tour* (40)*; Notes* contains a draft of a letter (later sent) to Scott expressing his disappointment at not finding him at home for a second visit (83-84); and, years later, Irving recounted the visit in vivid detail in a complete essay, "Abbottsford," in *The Crayon Miscellany.* Irving's rhapsodic accounts of the time spent with Scott, along with the texts he was reading, and the sites he visited, give us an insight to his frame of mind as he was revising his Indian essays.

A comparison between the Indian essays as they first appeared in *The Analectic Magazine* and Murray's 1820 edition illustrates the specific American vision Irving wished to

circulate throughout Europe. According to Irving's nephew, Pierre, before Irving brought pages of *The Sketch-Book* to Murray the first time, he was "determined to revise and bring them forward himself, that they might at least come correctly before the public" (*Life and Letters* 436). Irving reinscribed the pervasive myths of the noble savage and the vanishing Indian found in countless English and white Americans' narratives. However, both revised essays were influenced by Scottish Enlightenment thinking, especially as they were informed by Irving's tour of Scotland.

Both versions of "Traits" critique white settlers' treatment of Native Americans, and parts of the essay can be read as sympathetic towards indigenous people who are being persecuted by EuroAmericans. In both versions of "Traits," Irving asserts that Indians have been "doubly wronged by the white men" (145; 240);[66] he criticizes the hypocrisy of the white man who violated his supposed "laws of religion, morals, and manners" in their treatment of Indians (147; 242); he muses that whites have acted atrociously towards indigenous peoples and yet marvel when atrocities are then committed against them (149; 245); and near the end of each version, he condemns atrocities committed by whites against Native Americans during "the Indian wars in New England." That said, "Traits" is also fraught with stereotypes: both versions contain a paragraph near the end that assert Indians always lived in fear of survival and always were ready to fight (151-152; 246). Irving also asserts, as do so many EuroAmerican writers, that the Indian is stoic in the face of death. He reinscribes the image of the Indian reveling in his own torture, unemotional as he is burned to death (152; 247).

The image of the stoic Indian being tortured was drawn from the earliest English accounts of their interactions with the indigenous people of North America. Lepore begins her study of King Philip narratives with the image of a circle—stories of a seventeenth-century

Indian being tortured by Mohegan Indians (3-18). The story and its retellings, in the form of narratives Irving and countless others would read, become a metaphor for the angst the English would experience, a fear that through their dealings with indigenous Americans, they would become degraded. Closely related to the fear of degradation by contact was the question of origins. Lepore contends: "If the Indians were migrants from Europe or Asia, then they had changed since coming to America and had been contaminated by its savage environment. If this were the case, as many believed, then the English could expect to degenerate, too" (6). Residual evidence of this concern is seen in Irving's decision as editor of *The Analectic Magazine* to review the work of M. Julius Von Klaproth's "Origins of North American Indians" that appears in the same edition as Irving's two Indian essays. Klaproth's alleged discovery was the linguistic similarities among Native Americans from the Pacific Northwest, through Southern parts of Canada, stretching all the way to the Southern United States "where the languages and idioms are all obviously derived from an original language . . . The people all along this vast track, both in their figure and mode of life, have a striking similarity to the free nations in Northern Asia" (526). In Irving's introduction, "The Author's Account of Himself," in both the U.S. and Murray editions of *The Sketch-Book*, he writes that he visited Europe to "see the gigantic race from which I am degenerated" (12). This echoes the fear that inhabitants of the United States, regardless of when they reportedly arrived on the continent, were degraded by the place. Irving does, however, subvert two centuries of English and white American conventional wisdom when he emphatically asserts that it was whites who caused the degradation of indigenous people. In both versions of "Traits," he contends Indians "cannot but be sensible that the white men are the usurpers of their ancient dominion, the cause of their degradation, and the gradual destroyers of their race" (149; 245). Of course, he feeds into the vanishing Indian trope at the end of the

sentence but the first part seems unusual coming as it does from a white, nineteenth-century writer.

The vanishing Indian trope in white American narratives was pervasive in works by nineteenth-century EuroAmerican and European writers, and Irving's Indian essays were no exception. About this trope, O'Brien argues, "as precise benchmarks for asserting the extinction of New England Indians, the Pequot War and King Philip's War became popular explanations in local texts" (141). In the final paragraphs of both versions of "Traits," Irving, too, focuses on Philip's death: "'We are driven back,' said an old warrior, 'until we can retreat no farther—our hatchets are broken, our bows are snapped, our fires are nearly extinguished—a little longer and the white man will cease to persecute us—for we shall cease to exist!' (156; 249). The idea that Native American extinction was imminent or worse, already complete, was a belief that Irving not only held unwaveringly, but also one that his writings about Indians worked to reinforce. The reality, of course, is that indigenous people did not vanish, but rather attempted to devise ways in which to avoid the genocidal gaze of whites. Wolfe recounts that, as the nineteenth century progressed, some indigenous people resisted the Indian Removal Act of 1830. Indigenous people who chose land allotments and assimilation into white culture, who ceased to identify as members of tribes were able to avoid being removed further west. Of course, as Wolfe contends "this is a kind of death" in which Indians lost their "Indigenous soul," but the Indian body still remained (396-397). Despite the "settler-colonial logic of elimination" policies that continue to the present day, Thrush reminds readers that "the majority of Indigenous people now reside not on reserves or reservations but in urban places" (14). In other words, whites' stereotypical view of what constituted being Indian may have begun to vanish from view in the early nineteenth century; however, indigenous people themselves persisted. In his Indian essays,

then, Irving (like numerous other nineteenth-century EuroAmerican writers), both admired indigenous people and asserted they no longer existed, despite evidence to the contrary.

The tragic elements that both versions of "Traits" retain are the rhetorical choices that suggest the only two options for nineteenth-century Native Americans are extermination or civilization. Maddox explains that these words—extermination and civilization—are not opposites of one another, and "the only way of linking the two terms within a rhetorically coherent statement—and therefore within an ideologically consistent discourse—is by use of the word *or*" (9). While Irving did not use an either/or structure, focusing rather on the actions of colonist/invaders, he did presuppose that this was the only choice available to colonists/invaders; they chose to exterminate rather than civilize. With the extermination or civilization choices, Irving was travelling down what, by the early part of the nineteenth century was already a well-worn path, and a path that was parallel to the Highland Clearances. Enlightenment thinking already undergirded the original essay but as we transition to a discussion of the revised version of the essay, we see how his experiences in 1817 further refined his worldview. For example, in 1814, Irving writes of Indians: "These, however, are degenerate beings, enfeebled by the vices of society, without being benefited by its arts of living" (145). In1820, the revised sentence reads: "These are too commonly composed of degenerate beings, corrupted and enfeebled by the vices of society, without being benefited by its civilization" (241). The change is subtle but changing "arts of living" to "civilization" suggests a strategic shift: "arts of living" suggests individual components people choose to adopt or ignore as part of their way of life, while "civilization" suggests people living in an interconnected system; people who have advanced beyond a primitive or savage way of life.

Both versions of "Traits" also reinforced the idea that indigenous people were "original" in their "barbarity" and yet, another subtle shift occurred between 1814 and 1820. As part of the sympathy Irving expressed about ways whites had reeked destruction on the indigenous people of North America, he writes that contact with whites had "enervated [Indian's] strength, multiplied their diseases, blasted the powers of their minds, and superinduced on their original barbarity the low vices of civilization" (146). Many writers, of course, opined on why some indigenous populations seemed to decline when they came into contact with the English but it seems peculiar for Irving to name it "civilization" which, according to the thinking of so many eighteenth- and nineteenth-century whites was what supposedly lifted indigenous peoples out of their alleged degraded state. In 1820, Irving changed the phrasing to read: "It has enervated their strength, multiplied their diseases, and superinduced upon their original barbarity the low vices of artificial life" (241). In the years that passed between 1814 and 1820, Irving grew uncomfortable with blaming civilization on the downfall of Indians. Civilization itself—i.e. as an advanced way of living—was not to blame, it seems, for the destruction of so many Indians, but rather an attempt to introduce an "artificial life" upon a people whose past and present state was savage.

Determined to Revise: "Traits of Indian Character"

Thus far, I have focused on similarities and minor (yet significant) revisions of Irving's diction, and now I turn to major revisions Irving made to "Traits" before it reappeared in 1820. The 1814 *Analectic* version of "Traits" does not begin with an epigraph while the 1820 version does, as do most of the essays that appear in any edition of *The Sketch-Book*.[67] The 1820 epigraph reads: "I appeal to any white man if ever he entered Logan's cabin hungry, and he gave him not to eat; if ever he came cold and naked, and he clothed him not" attributed to a "Sketch of

an Indian Chief" (151).[68] This initial introduction of an indigenous American voice into the evolving *Sketch-Book* signaled two things: it evoked a sympathetic view of the Indian as one who shared a kindship with Western Judeo-Christian values, echoing Jesus's oft-quoted sermon about sheep and goats.[69] And, the epigraph linked the indigenous people of North America with "chiefdoms." The meaning of the English word, "chief," as "the head man or ruler of a clan, tribe, or small primitive community" can be traced back to at least the sixteenth century ("Chief"). While it denotes a person in a position of power, as it was used in both the British Isles and in North America, the word carries a connotation meant to provincialize the leader in question—i.e. the person presides over "a clan, tribe, or small primitive community" as opposed to kings and queens who preside over nations, or even governors, who preside over colonies or states. Regarding usage of the word "chief," specifically in the British Isles, as Pittock contends: "one of the consequences of this is that in the eighteenth century 'chiefs' and 'chieftains' become words in literature which acknowledge the fact of Irish and Scottish difference, but also their lack of proper statehood" (69). Suggesting that North American Indians have been Christianized would have appealed to many nineteenth-century British readers; yet, the simultaneous signaling that this voice introducing Irving's essay was a "chief" also suggested that "Logan" was a figure who inhabited a liminal space. Nancy Shoemaker contends that the concept of liminality is often used in regards to understanding rituals but her definition of how people are often seen as not clearly fitting into one cultural or geographic space or another is apt in Irving's epigraph. Shoemaker suggests that people "who do not easily fall within a category" often find themselves in "liminal spaces, potentially wrought with confusion, mystery, and uncertainty" (60).[70] Irving's Indian was one who could speak (in English) the language of the Christian Bible but

also one who had not quite emerged from the "dark and fabulous" (Robertson 1) realm of human history due to his association with chiefdoms.

The opening paragraph of the 1820 "Traits" is also vastly different from the original that appeared in1814, which further defines the nature of the Native American as both a lofty chief and a sublime savage. The opening line of the 1814 essay reads:

> In the present times, when popular feeling is gradually becoming hardened by war, and selfish by the frequent jeopardy of life or property, it is certainly an inauspicious moment to speak in behalf of a race of beings, whose very existence has been pronounced detrimental to public security. (145)

Compare to the opening line when it was published in London in 1820:

> There is something in the character and habits of the North American savage, taken in connection with the scenery over which he is accustomed to range, its vast lakes, boundless forests, majestic rivers, and trackless plains, that is, to my mind, wonderfully striking and sublime. (240)

The revision, on one level, speaks to the care Irving took in ensuring his work was timely when republished in a new market; the War of 1812, alluded to in the original version, had been over for five years by 1820, and so excising the war reference makes sense. Timelessness, however, does not account for Irving's choice to change "a race of beings" (1814) to "North American savage" (1820). For any white, nineteenth-century American writer to use the word "savage" to describe Native Americans would be commonplace, and Irving uses the word consistently throughout the remainder of both the 1814 and 1820 versions of "Traits." However, Irving's use of "savage" in the opening lines of an essay meant specifically for a European audience suggests

he was (re)circulating the idea of a stadial view of history, and reasserting a belief that the indigenous people of North America were indeed a people who inhabited a primordial stage.

With revisions he makes in the second paragraph of "Traits," Irving changes his historical perspective. A side-by-side comparison reveals how Irving's shift in diction brought him more in line with a Scottish Enlightenment worldview. In the following comparison, I have italicized the pertinent revisions of the 1820 version.

The 1814 version:

It has been the lot of the unfortunate aborigines of this country, to be doubly wrong by the white men—first, driven from their native soil by the sword of the invader, and then darkly slandered by the pen of the historian. The former has treated them like beasts of the forest; the latter has written volumes to justify him in his outrages. The former found it easier to exterminate than civilize; the latter to abuse than to discriminate. The hideous appellations of savage and pagan, were sufficient to sanction the deadly hostilities of both; and the poor wanderers of the forest were persecuted and dishonoured, not because they were guilty, but because they were ignorant. (145)

The 1820 version:

It has been the lot of the unfortunate aborigines of America, *in the early periods of colonization*, to be doubly wronged by the white men. *They have been dispossessed of their hereditary possessions by mercenary and frequently wanton warfare*: and their characters have been traduced by bigoted and interested *writers.* The *colonist* often treated them like beasts of the forest; and the author has endeavored to justify him in his outrages. The former found it easier to exterminate than to civiliz*e;* the latter to vilify than to discriminate. The appellations of savage and pagan were deemed sufficient to sanction the hostilities of both; and thus the poor wanderers of the forest were persecuted and defamed, not because they were guilty, but because they were ignorant. (240; emphasis added)[71]

The changes Irving made between the American and English version are significant because they follow two different narratives. While Irving places blame for the treatment of

Indians squarely on the shoulders of "white men" who are "invaders" and "historians" in the 1814 publication, in the 1820 version, the white men are "colonist[s]" and "writers." The makers of history are the more generic "invaders" for an American audience and a more specific "colonists" in the English version. For a nineteenth-century American audience, arming the invaders with swords would conjure images of invasions of the Americas, which were intended to garner wealth rather than seek lands which to colonize. These "invaders" who dispossessed Indians from their land are relegated to a more distant time and era than the Europeans who later came with the intention of living in America. A white, nineteenth-century reading public would be less inclined to identify themselves with sword-wielding invaders than the Puritans who they often venerated. On the other hand, Irving directly implicates his English audience in this saga by renaming the "invaders" as "colonist" in the 1820 version: this implied that while this is a distinctly American tale in *The Sketch-Book*, the English readers' ancestors are part of this distinctly American narrative of conflict, which fit into the larger scheme of how Irving viewed himself as a writer and a citizen of the (European/EuroAmerican) world. Irving's choice to change the more specific "historians" to the more generic "writers" is also significant. His 1814 American audience presumably would be familiar with the histories of Mather, Hubbard and others referenced above but, as has been noted, so too would an English audience. There appears to be an effort here to avoid disparaging historians like Robertson or perhaps even writers of historical fiction like Scott. The Scottish Enlightenment historians attempted to unify the narratives of nations, and here Irving appears to be following suit.

Another significant shift in these paragraphs is Irving's revision of the phrase, "driven from their native soil by the sword of the invader," which becomes "dispossessed of their hereditary possessions by mercenary and frequently wanton warfare." The American version,

whether or not Irving intended to do so, made a political statement: the soil of the United States was Indians' "native soil," and they were driven from it by the English. Describing the arrival of non-natives to North America as invaders also hearkens to what Byrd reminds readers of as she discusses Chief Justice John Marshall's "domestic dependent nation" designation: the "'Doctrine of Discovery' . . . gave Europeans and by extension their agents in the new world a claim to native lands by the physical act of discovery" (198).[72] By 1820, Irving clearly wanted to avoid a discussion of nineteenth-century Indians and their claims to land. Removing "native soil" from the 1820 version supports this. In every other instance where Irving revised a word or phrase he replaced it with something more precise or with an eye to making something more aesthetically pleasing. It would be difficult to find a phrase Irving revised that is more awkward and poorly stated compared to his original phrasing than: "dispossessed of their hereditary possessions by mercenary and frequently wanton warfare." He appears to be having difficulty expressing the inexplicable.

While many of the revisions Irving makes are stylistic, changing words or adding phrases, one of the things that made "Traits" a distinctly different essay in 1820 are the lines Irving excised. In 1814, in a paragraph about the ways Indians followed their moral codes more rigidly than did whites (none of which he deletes in 1820), we encounter this sentence: "Virtue and vice, though radically the same, yet differ widely in their influence on human conduct, according to the habits and maxims of the society in which the individual is reared" (147). The sentence suggests that social norms are in fact social constructs, which belies the notion that there is a universal moral code and that whites throughout history have somehow gained access to this one true way. By 1820, however, Irving seems reluctant to disparage the idea that his enlightened, white contemporaries had established a correct moral code. We see this again in

another excised passage in which Irving recounted an anecdote of one British solider mocking another soldier for shaking with fear before a battle. Irving suggests the fearful soldier went on to distinguish himself in battle but the 1814 Irving opined: "had he been brought up in savage life, or even in a humbler and less responsible situation, it is more than probable he could never have ventured into open action" (151). This passage confuses a clear meaning of the word "savage" that had begun to calcify by the nineteenth-century: i.e. to be savage is to be less developed. In this anecdote, Irving suggests that to be savage was to possess a level of wisdom that civilized people do not have—i.e. it is not natural to place oneself directly in harm's way, and only people under the orders of a "civilized" military officer would do such a foolish thing. By1820, Irving rejected this idea by deleting the passage. He also chose not to disparage one of the pillars of nineteenth-century civilization efforts: the Christian faith. Near the end of the 1814 edition, in the midst of Irving's justification of indigenous people fighting in different ways than whites, he included a paragraph which is particularly critical of Christianity: "With all the doctrines of christianity [*sic*], and the advantages of cultivated morals, to govern and direct us, what horrid crimes disgrace the victories of the Christian armies" (150). Deleting this passage indicates Irving was hesitant about criticizing the Christian faith for an English audience. By 1820, Irving also seems to be hesitant about criticizing white men's dismal treatment of females throughout history. In his defense of Indians in 1814, Irving writes, "where, in the records of Indian barbarity, can we point to a violated female?" (150)—a passage he excised in the 1820 version. These deletions suggest that Irving did not merely insert two Indian essays into the 1820 *The Sketch-Book* but rather recrafted them, for better or worse, to reflect his changing worldview.

The longest passage Irving deleted between the 1814 and 1820 versions of "Traits," were several pages related to the plight of the Creek Indians. Irving's perpetuation of the vanishing Indian trope, along with his praise of seventeenth-century Indians, could be justified if, as Slotkin contends, "praise of the past conceals a critique of the present" (56). In 1814, Irving presented readers with a multitude of complex issues/ideas to untangle, but in 1820, he simplified the "Indian problem" by excising a nuanced discussion of contemporary Native Americans. The extended section near the close of the 1814 essay begins with this question: "Do these records of ancient excesses fill us with disgust and aversion? [L]et us take heed that we do not suffer ourselves to be hurried into the same iniquities" (153). This was a harsh warning for Irving's contemporaries: he argued that because of current policies regarding Indians that the United States was attempting to conflate the past and present, to be as guilty as Puritans. Irving was writing in the midst of the War of 1812, a conflict, which Angela Pulley Hudson explains, "brought punishing results for the Native peoples involved. Both allies and enemies of the Americans were divested of their lands and caught in the midst of an imperial battle for abstract 'rights of conquest' that had little to do with the realities on the ground" (118). Pursuing immoral policies towards indigenous people in the present as Puritans had done in the past, Irving argues, diminishes the United States' effort to portray itself as a progressive nation:

> Even at the present advanced day, when we should suppose that enlightened philosophy had expanded our minds, and true religion had warmed our hearts into philanthropy—when we have been admonished by a sense of past transgression, and instructed by the indignant censures of candid history—even now, we perceive a disposition breaking out to renew the persecutions of these hapless beings. Sober-thoughted men, far from the scenes of danger, in the security of

> cities and populous regions, can coolly talk of 'exterminating measures,' and discuss *policy* of extirpating thousands. (153)

He then discussed a particularly brutal campaign waged against Creek Indians as part of the so-called Creek War, a conflict between opposing factions of Creek Indians, the United States, and other European countries that lasted roughly from 1812-1814 and resulted in Creek Indians ceding thousands of acres of land to the United States government. To include reference to this conflict in 1814 demonstrates Irving's concern with including timely information. It is also significant because, in comparison to his discussion of Indians elsewhere in the essay, which are often generic, stereotypical pan-Indian representations, by addressing the Creek War, he was focused on contemporary, nineteenth-century indigenous people.[73]

In condemning contemporary campaigns against Indians, Irving quoted a long passage of a widely circulated letter from U.S. General, John Coffee, which included Coffee's admission that during a particularly violent skirmish, in the fury of killing Indian men, Coffee's soldiers also killed women and children. Irving declares: "Let those who exclaim with abhorrence at *Indian* inroads—those who are so eloquent about the bitterness of Indian recrimination—let them turn to the horrible victory of General Coffee, and be silent" (155). What transpired between 1814 and 1820 that rendered Irving silent on this war? In 1814, his success as a literary figure was uncertain but by 1820, he was on the cusp; he had befriended Scott, had established a relationship with Murray, and dined at the home of the founder of the *Edinburgh Review*. While I agree with Laura Murray's contention that "by 1820, the Creek material would either have had to be revised or deleted; Irving chose the latter, making the tone uniformly nostalgic to fit in with the other sketches" (n.p.), the final result is much more than uniform nostalgia. Irving predicted that after these horrific collisions have ceased, the Creeks "will go the way that so many tribes

have gone before" (156) as he asserts at the close of the 1820 version: "The eastern tribes have long since disappeared" (248). Irving's critique of the Creek War in 1814, however, served as a potential corrective for readers who may have wished to reject the vanishing Indian trope with which both versions of "Traits" ends. However, by 1820, all the reader encounters as a final word on Indians in the United States is that they have gone the way of the Highland chiefdoms. By eliminating recent atrocities whites committed against indigenous people from his 1820 version, Irving also contributed to the American metanarrative that violence in the United States belongs to the romanticized past.

Determined to Revise: "Philip of Pokanoket"

Revisions Irving made to the 1820 version of "Philip" are no less compelling than ones he made to "Traits." Two journals Irving kept in 1817, *A Tour of Scotland* and *Notes While Preparing Sketch-Book &c,* indicate that 1817 reshaped the way Irving viewed his Indian narratives. The 1814 version of "Philip," like the 1814 version of "Traits," does not have an epigraph; however, it begins with a bracketed disclaimer: "[The following anecdotes, illustrative of Indian character, are gathered from various sources, that have every appearance of being authentic. It was thought needless to encumber the page with references]" (502). The only source Irving specifically names, in any extant version of the essay, is in a note: "The Rev. Increase Mather's History," (507; 255n54). The scarcity of citations would have hardly garnered much notice because much work published prior to the twentieth century lacked citations. That said, Irving drew attention to his lack of citations, which suggests a self-conscious admission that he was entering into a realm where many whites had entered with more speculation than verified fact. "Every appearance of being authentic" does not muster tremendous faith in a reader's belief in the sources used (regardless of what century the phrase is written). On the other hand,

the lack of cited sources may be more indicative of an acknowledgment of how widespread the white American version of King Philip's story was. And, when read within the context of *The Sketch-Book,* an eclectic mixture of fiction and nonfiction with a pseudonymous "of Geoffrey Crayon" attached, the essay begins more like a piece of historical fiction than a piece of nonfiction.

In 1820, "Philip" like "Traits" is given an epigraph, one that signals the framing of the essay as clearly as "chief Logan's" speech frames "Traits," but one that also is more indicative of how Irving's associations with Scotland had shaped his work. The epigraph is a selection of verse by the Scots poet, Thomas Campbell. As mentioned above, Irving published an American edition of Campbell's *The Poetical Works of Thomas Campbell* in 1810, but by 1820, Campbell was one of the literary types Irving socialized with in Murray's drawing room. More significantly, the epigraph is from Campbell's *Gertrude of Wyoming,* the aforementioned, epic poem set in Pennsylvania during the American Revolution. Irving, then, chose to frame his narrative about the tragic Native American hero against the backdrop of the American Revolution. This move by Irving is nothing new, however, as Lepore demonstrates, King Philip narratives were used during the American Revolution by the English striving for independence who "[depicted] the British as more savage enemies than the Indians of King Philip's War" (187). However, employing a Scot's rendition of the American Revolution rather than an American writer's rendition, in order to introduce one's Philip narrative, demonstrates how closely Irving felt an affinity for Scotland.

While the framing of "Philip" altered the nature of the essay when it reappeared in 1820, the in-text revisions Irving made to "Philip" were not are not as extensive as ones he made to "Traits." The first four paragraphs of "Philip" are word-for-word in the 1814 and 1820 versions.

Revisions begin to appear in the fifth paragraph and, while minor, still support the idea that Irving was conscientious about recrafting the essay for an English market. For example: a sentence such as "When the pilgrims, as they are termed, first took refuge on the shores of the new world from the persecutions of the old, they found themselves in the most gloomy and helpless situation" (503) becomes, in 1820: "When the pilgrims, as the Plymouth settlers are called by their descendants, first took refuge on the shores of the New World, from the religious persecutions of the Old, their situation was to the last degree gloomy and disheartening" (251). [74] Another example of a minor change that occurs several pages later echoes wordsmithing Irving does in "Traits" with the "dispossessed of their hereditary possessions" phrase discussed above. In the1814 version, Irving writers: "The war that actually broke out was but a war of detail; a mere succession of massacres" (508), which in 1820 becomes "The war that actually broke out was but a war of detail, a mere succession of casual exploits and unconnected enterprises" (256). Just as Irving attempted to soften the image of sword wielding invaders with convoluted language, he attempts to soften "massacres" with the phrase "casual exploits and unconnected enterprises," which could be used to suggest a whole host of events, none of which would necessarily be associated with bloodshed. Ultimately, though, both versions of Irving's "Philip" read like typical, early nineteenth-century propaganda—sympathetic to the plight of Native Americans from the past and rife with enlightenment ideas of savage/civilized people. Like the 1820 version of "Traits," both versions of "Philip" reinscribe ideas of the Scottish Enlightenment—namely that savage people will always be defeated by civilized people—back to a British audience, and circulated the idea that Native Americans were noble in the past but had no place in the present.

Ultimately, examining the two journals Irving kept during his travels in Scotland indicates that Irving used his notes to rethink the Indian essays he had published in *The Analectic Magazine* in 1814. A fragment (as many of the entries are) in *Notes* reads: "gone [?] down like a foundered bark while the cold waves close over it & run dimpling on, without a trace of the bark that lately rode so proudly on their surface" (56-57). Williams points out that "the metaphor of the foundered bark reappears" in the final lines of "Philip of Pokanoket" in 1820 (57n1): "[Philip] lived a wanderer and a fugitive in his native land, and went down, like a lonely bark foundering amid darkness and tempest—without a pitying eye to weep his fall, or a friendly hand to record his struggle" (*Sketch-Book* 264). However, the 1814 essay concludes in much the same way (with minor alterations): "[Philip] lived a wanderer and a fugitive in his native land, and went down, like a foundering bark, amid darkness, and tempest—without an eye to weep his fall, or a friendly hand to record his struggle" ("Philip" 515). In and of itself, the revisions merely reinforce what I have already asserted about Irving's continual revision of his work. However, this passage speaks to two larger points: it demonstrates that Irving viewed his Indian essays as carefully as any others that make their way into the many editions of *The Sketch-Book*, and it indicates that Irving was thinking about what he had already composed about Indians in general and Philip specifically while he was traveling through Scotland.[75]

One of the many litanies in Irving's *Notes While Preparing Sketch Book &c. 1817* begins with the phrase "Philip's war," which indicates how much Native Americans occupied Irving's thoughts while he was in Scotland (51). It is worth reproducing Irving's notes in full, as Williams transcribed them:

> Philip's war.
>
> Hadley—delivery by the Regicide

Battle in the Swamp with Philip & Canonchet.

Dutch pirates employed [against] Philip—their pursuit of the latter—Witchcraft—trial of a witch

Muster of men to go against the Indians

Old Indian takes a young Englishman prisoner. vide the indian Story— Deacon Peabodys exploits.

Scenery on the Connecticut

Capt Wadsworth with 100 men surrounded on a hill by 100 Indians—The latter set fire to the wood to the windward—&c. P—10—

Stone-wall—or Stone-layer—John an Indian

Young Englishman rides into the town—In love with governors daughter—Fights with Indians

Battle of the swamp

Taken by Kingphilip

taught arts of war

Story of the peasant captured by the Indians. Old Salmons story—rescued by the young Englishman. finds his mother on the point of being denounced for a Witch—

Story of Marse

Woman rocking her child by the fire side sees an indian face glaring in at the window—. (51-54)

While these fragments make clear that some of the notes Irving made in late 1817 while touring Scotland appear in the 1820 version of "Philip," and that he was clearly reading primary sources

of accounts of this tumultuous time in North America, virtually none of the notes in the list above are found in the 1820 version of "Philip." There is no mention of Hadley or the regicide, Dutch pirates (or pirates of any kind) employed against Philip, no witch trials, no mention of an Old Indian taking prisoner of a young Englishman, Deacon Peabody, Captain Wadsworth, an Indian named John, etc. A few pages later, Irving's journal once again turns to Indians, and we encounter ideas that he ultimately incorporates in the 1820 Murray edition.

Irving writes: "Indians concealed behind a fence—cattle stand staring that way refusing to pass/Cattle come home bleeding & frightened from the woods—a sign of Indians./ Story of a sloop defended from Indians—vide Mather—." Again Williams notes the reference to cattle, referencing a similar passage in "Philip." This note is significant because a comparison of both the 1814 version and the 1820 version marks a place in the manuscript of significant revision. In 1820, Irving added an entire paragraph and expanded the one that follows. Within this paragraph, he added the additional vivid detail suggested by what he has jotted down in *Notes:* "the cattle which had been wandering in the woods would sometimes return home wounded" (*Sketch-Book* 257). Also included in this paragraph is a comparison of Indians gathering like storm clouds, and their appearances at the edge of English towns being like flashes of lightening (imagery that does not appear in the 1814 version or in any of Irving's *Notes*).

In addition to textual comparisons, Irving's three-day visit with Scott in 1817 also influenced revisions Irving made to "Philip." While Scott's novel *Rob Roy* had not yet been published, Scott's authorship of *Waverly* was quickly becoming the worst kept secret in the English-speaking world, and Irving knew Scott was working on a Rob Roy novel. In a letter dated 26 August 1817 to his brother, Peter, Irving writes: "Walter Scott is at Abbotsford; busy, it is supposed, about Rob Roy, having lately been traveling for scenery, &c" (P. Irving 378). In the

introduction to *A Tour of Scotland,* Williams notes Irving "never wearies of seeing and sketching the haunts of Rob Roy" (12), and Irving's notes throughout the journal confirm this assertion. An addition Irving makes in the 1820 version of "Philip," an expanded character sketch of Philip, could be inspired by the aforementioned "world of ideas, images, and impressions that have been crowded upon" Irving's mind when he visited Scott (P. Irving 381). It would stand to reason that Scott regaled Irving with tales of Rob Roy, echoes of which can be seen in revisions Irving made to "Philip." The 1820 addition to "Philip" begins:

> In this way Philip became a theme of universal apprehension. The mystery in which he was enveloped exaggerated his real terrors. He was an evil that walked in darkness; whose coming none could foresee, and against which none knew when to be on the alert. The whole country abounded with rumors and alarms. Philip seemed almost possessed of ubiquity; for, in whatever part of the widely-extended frontier an irruption from the forest took place, Philip was said to be its leader. (257-8)

This description of Philip could, of course, be applied to a whole host of historical people who morphed into characters, oftentimes in works presented as historical or pure fiction and/or whose actual lives became the stuff of legend and myth. While Scott did not add an author's introduction to *Rob Roy* until 1829, that introduction gives us a glimpse into Scott's thought process about the historical figure:

> He owed his fame in a great measure to his residing on the very verge of the Highlands, and playing such pranks in the beginning of the 18th century, as are usually ascribed to Robin Hood in the middle ages,—and that within forty miles of Glasgow, a great commercial city, the seat of a learned university. That a

> character like his, blending the wild virtues, the subtle policy, and unrestrained license of an American Indian, was flourishing in Scotland during the Augustan age of Queen Anne and George I . . . It is this strong contrast betwixt the civilized and cultivated mode of life on the one side of the Highland lines, and the wild and lawless adventures which were habitually undertaken and achieved by one who dwelt on the opposite side of that ideal boundary, which creates the interest attached to his name. (Scott iii-iv)

If we imagine that Scott regaled Irving with Roy tales, it is not difficult to imagine also that he shared some version of his thought process behind his attraction to Roy—the savage on the fringe of civilization and the comparisons to American Indians. Calloway contends that Scott's early novels, *Waverly* and *Rob Roy* "rehabilitated the Highlander as a chivalric and romantic figure" but that the rehabilitation is short-lived for the figure is a tragic one "doomed to disappear" (242). In both "Traits" and "Philip," Irving cast the Indian as his tragic hero who had disappeared from North America. Calloway also notes that "Scott's version of Scotland's history and culture . . .never existed" but none-the-less made Scott a national literary hero (242). Irving was already interested in Native Americans by the time he traveled to Scotland and met Scott, but it appears Scott provided a template to follow as Irving revised his essays.

Irving's 1820 Philip became a more sinister figure than he was in 1814. Irving's new version of Philip is associated with witchcraft, an idea that was most likely influenced by his travels in Scotland as well. The remainder of the paragraph quoted above, includes this new description of Philip:

> Many superstitious notions also were circulated concerning him. He was said to deal in necromancy, and to be attended by an old Indian witch or prophetess,

> whom he consulted, and who assisted him by her charms and incantations. This indeed was frequently the case with Indian chiefs; either through their own credulity, or to act upon that of their followers: and the influence of the prophet and the dreamer over Indian superstition has been fully evidenced in recent instances of savage warfare. (258)

Irving was critical of superstations and witchcraft in general; early in both versions of "Philip," he recounts "the diseased state of the public mind" of the colonists who had given over to "superstitious fancies, and had filled their imagination with the frightful chimeras of witchcraft and spectrology" (507; 255). It is only in the 1820 version, however, that he associated Philip and his followers with the occult. Upon his arrival in Edinburgh, Irving went sightseeing and wrote to Peter: "Arthur's seat was perfect witchcraft" (P. Irving 378). In *A Tour,* Irving recounted a conversation with "an old highlander" who "was firm believer in Witches fairies and warlocks. 'Not that theyre owr [*sic*] plenty nowadays; but they abounded in auld times, when the world was in Obscurity before the Scriptures had broke out any thing great'" (23-24). The old highlander's anecdote contains echoes of Robertson's view of ancient history as a place dark and fabulous. And, as noted above, in the list from *Notes,* Irving references "Witchcraft—trial of a witch" and "finds his mother on the point of being denounced for a Witch." Irving was thinking of witchcraft in America but it seems that, by 1820, the witches of the old world and the new had become conflated.[76] What the Indian passages in Irving's journals, his time spent with Scott, and the subsequent revisions he made to *The Sketch-Book* indicate is that, while traveling through Scotland, Irving was thinking only of Indians from North America's past.

Postproduction and postmortem circulations

Irving and his work continued to circulate for nearly forty years after the publication of the 1820 Murray *Sketch-Book*. He traveled west across America and east for several more tours of Europe, continuing to write about the people and places he encountered. He also contributed to the myth that America was discovered, created, and built by exceptional, white males with his biographies of Christopher Columbus, George Washington, and John Jacob Astor, who made millions in the North American fur trade. In writing the histories of these men, "Irving helps to guarantee that his prediction—about whose lives will be inscribed in American history and whose will not—will come true" (Maddox 73).[77] His most enduring book, however, is *The Sketch-Book*, which was reworked and republished multiple times and, after 1820, always included his Indian essays, "Traits" and "Philip."

Critical reception of Irving's 1820 *The Sketch-Book* was favorable, and nearly always included optimistic predictions about Irving's literary career. In the same year Sydney Smith asserted in *The Edinburgh Review* that no one reads American books, the editors of *Analectic* reprinted a review of *The Sketch-Book* that first appeared in *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*. The reviewer praises Irving as "one of our first favorites among the English writers of this age—and he is not a bit the less for having been born in America." The *Analectic* editors stated purpose for re-printing the review is "for the purpose of showing the favour that our countryman, Washington Irving, has gained at the hands of Scotish [*sic*] critics" (qtd. in *Analectic Magazine* vol. 2, December 1820). The same year, *Blackwood's* printed a lengthy review of Irving's *Knickerbocker* from which it quoted long passages. Yet, the article begins in anticipation of *The Sketch-Book*: "We are delighted to observe, that 'the Sketch-Book of Geoffrey Crayon, Gent.' has at last fallen into the hands of Mr Murray, and been republished in one of the most beautiful octavos that ever issued from the fertile press of Albemarle Street" ("Diedrich" 360).[78] Mention

of Irving in the Edinburgh journals dissipate for several years, and then, his name reappears twice, again in *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*. The first mention appeared in an essay titled "Dousterswivel's Inquiry into the Theory of Imposture," in which the writer prides himself in coming to the defense of Irving as a great writer, and then quickly turns on Irving: "Geoffrey Crayon is an American born, and has written with a taste and elegance, 'tis true, not often rivalled even in England; but, that for a great deal of this perfection he is indebted to a long residence in this country, few will deny. His life of Campbell is written in very bad taste; and the History of New York, in spite of some humorous traits, is often both very indecorous and very dull" (684). The reviews, whether positive or negative, make no mention of Irving's "Traits" and "Philip".

Despite the Edinburgh periodicals seeming lack of interest in the Indian essays, Irving's interest in Native Americans and those associated with Native Americans continued throughout his lifetime, as did his stream of letters to Murray encouraging him to (re)publish works Irving found of value. One of the final letters Irving wrote to Murray II before Murray II's death in 1843 was a letter of introduction and recommendation for Henry R Schoolcraft:

> Permit me to introduce to your acquaintance and recommend to your civilities Mr Henry R. Schoolcraft; a gentleman of celebrity in this country, and who, during his residence of many years as Indian agent, among our aboriginal tribes, has made great researches into their manners, customs, traditions, oral tales, &c. &c. (Letter to John Murray II [4 April 1842])

The letter continues with a description of a Schoolcraft's text titled, *Cyclopedia Indianaeasis.* Irving, of course, recommends Murray publish the text, which apparently was no of interest to Murray. Schoolcraft's manuscript was never completed; however, in *The Annual Report of the*

Trustees of the Astor Library (1862), the text appears, among others of Schoolcraft's work, in the library rolls as "Cyclopedia Indianensis [Title, and 16 pages: all published.] 8vo. New York, 1842" (38).[79] And, while Schoolcraft's influence on white Americans' thinking about Native Americans was vast, given that Murray did not publish (or reprint) any of Schoolcraft's work suggests an ambivalence on his part to Schoolcraft and perhaps, at this point in Murray's life, on American Indians altogether. [80]

Schoolcraft's work, like Irving's and others, did however circulate in various places in Scotland. In 1880, a bookseller by the name of George P. Johnston, based in Edinburgh, listed three works by Schoolcraft in his "Catalogue of Rare, Curious, and Valuable Books": under second hand books for sale, he listed "AMERICAN INDIANS. Information respecting the History, Condition, and Prospects of the Indian Tribes of the United States, by H.R. Schoolcraft" (2).[81] In a 1921 *Guide for Young Readers* published by the Woodside District Library in Glasgow, Schoolcraft's "The [North American] Indian fairy book, from the original legends" (originally published in the mid-nineteenth century) was recommended under the heading of Fairy Tales (398.4). Schoolcraft was also mentioned several times in Laurence Oliphant's *Minnesota and the Far West,* published in 1855 in Edinburgh and London by William Blackwood and Sons; and according to the title page, the text was "originally published in Blackwood's Magazine." Even if Murray publishing lost interest in works about Native Americans, the circulation of Schoolcraft's works serves as a reminder that the late nineteenth and early twentieth-century Scottish reading public was still interested in narratives about the indigenous people of North America.

Schoolcraft's work, like Irving's, also serves as an example of ways whites used print culture to shape and control the narratives that circulated about Native Americans. Much of

Schoolcraft's work drew heavily upon largely unattributed or altered source material from his Ojibwe mother-in-law, Ozhaguscodaywayquay, and the translation work of his wife, Jane Johnston Schoolcraft. Jane Johnston Schoolcraft, the daughter of Ozhaguscodaywayquay and the Irish born John Johnston, was an accomplished writer in her own right. As Christine R. Cavalier argues, however, Henry Schoolcraft sought to diminish his wife's and his mother-in-law's contributions to his own work due to his "apprehensiveness of being overshadowed by a woman's wit, and Jane Schoolcraft's clear bicultural advantage with regard to her husband's twinned interests in belles lettres and ethnography[;] Henry endeavored to make his wife's authorship nonthreatening by enclosing it within first her father's and then his own patriarchal authority" (102). Henry Schoolcraft's methods in (re)telling indigenous people's stories provide a stark reminder that it mattered less if depictions of Native Americans were positive or negative; it mattered more who was shaping the narrative.

A final way that one of Irving's Indian essays, "Traits," circulated throughout the world demonstrates ways that nineteenth-century Native Americans attempted to control their own narrative. In 1816, Elias Boudinot, a member of the Cherokee Nation, included the complete text of "Traits," exactly as it appeared in the 1814 *Analectic Magazine*, in the preface to his book *A Star in the West.* Boudinot included the essay because (speaking of himself in third person): "he has been much gratified . . . to find that he is not alone in his sentiments on this unpopular subject" (iii). Boudinot does not name Irving but states that he is reprinting the essay from *The Analectic Magazine* "by express permission of the editor of that work" (iv). While Boudinot shares his own thoughts on the state of indigenous populations of North America in the first six pages of his preface, Irving's "Traits" comprise the remaining fifteen pages. The remainder of the over three hundred pages of *A Star in the West* addressed a whole host of topics from the

theory regarding Native Americans as descendants of the lost tribes of Israel to Native Americans' language, customs, and traditions. Boudinot quoted from many other sources throughout the text but never as extensively as reproducing an entire essay as he did with Irving's "Traits."

In 1829, the Pequot Methodist minister, William Apess, included a version of the 1814 *Analectic* "Traits" in the Appendix to his *A Son of the Forest,* identifying the author of the essay only as an example of "the philanthropy of some of the white men" for which Apess is gratified (140). Laura Murray points out that the copy Apess reprints is actually from Boudinot's text *A Star in the West* (n.p.). "Traits" continues to take on a life of its own apart from Irving when it appeared as an anonymous essay in the Appendix to *The Life of General Ely S. Parker: Last Grand Sachem of the Iroquois and General Grant's Military Secretary* (1919) by Arthur C. Parker, a descendant of the Seneca Nation, whose mother was a Scot and "his father of mixed Iroquois and white ancestry" (Berg 238). The footnote to "Traits" in *The Life of General Ely S. Parker* reads: "An oration by Nicholson H. Parker, delivered at Canandaigus, March 7-8, 1853, in a lecture course covering two evenings. Copied from the original manuscript" (27). The vague nature of the second sentence makes it difficult to tell if the "original manuscript" refers to the oration manuscript or a copy of Irving's essay itself. Either way, these republications of "Traits," without Irving's name attached, suggest a desire on the part of Boudinot, Apess, and Parker to reclaim narratives that should be told by indigenous people rather than white Americans. In the following chapter, I turn away from whites' attempt to shape the American metanarrative, and towards the life and works of Native Americans, primarily George Copway, and the ways they told their own stories about violence, nation, and race.

CHAPTER III

"THE AID OF THE SAVAGE FROM THE FOREST WILDS":

KAHGEGAGAHBOWH PLAYING INDIAN IN THE UNITED KINGDOM

In 1818, while Washington Irving prepared *The Sketch-Book of Geoffrey Crayon, Gent.* for its first publication in the United States, George Copway (né Kahgegagahbowh), an Ojibwe Indian, was born in the Rice Lake region of Canada, an area known as the Valley of Trent, where the Mississauga had lived "for over a century" (D. Smith, *Mississauga* 166).[82] Copway and Irving would become acquaintances late in Irving's life: Irving contributed a letter of support and content for Copway's short-lived newspaper, *Copway's American Indian,* and Copway briefly mentions he was "safely housed in the Irving House" for several days upon his return from his 1850 European tour (*Running Sketches* 345). For a brief period of time, in the mid-nineteenth century, Copway enjoyed great renown in the United States and Europe. "Committee after committee has called to get me to deliver addresses for benevolent purposes," Copway writes while traveling through Europe, "letters are pouring in from the surrounding country—of pressing invitation" (301). In some ways, Copway's path to becoming a coveted author and speaker tracked with Irving's literary career: when legal concerns made earning a living in Canada no longer viable, Copway found himself in New York City determined to stave off financial ruin by becoming a writer. The persona Copway crafted for the page appears just as confident a cosmopolitan traveler as Geoffrey Crayon, moving seamlessly through Canada, the United States, and Europe. And, like Irving, Copway was often criticized for identifying too closely with communities other than the one into which he was born. Both Copway and Irving wrote about the Indian experience in North America in ways that often support the argument that savage Indians would (and should) vanish if they did not embrace salvation through civilization.

Copway, however, unlike Irving, wrote from an informed place, as one both born and raised within an indigenous community, and one who became conversant in white American society by converting to Methodism, learning, speaking, and writing in English, and by operating within white, social, economic, and political spheres. Copway fused Indianness and Enlightenment thinking to craft his literary and oratory persona, procure publishers, and impact political and social discourse. While two of his works, *Recollections of a Forest Life; or the Life and Travels of Kah-ge-ga-gah-bowh* (originally published as *Life, Letters and Speeches of Kah-ge-ga-gah-bowh*) and *Running Sketches of Men and Places, in England, France, Germany, Belgium, and Scotland* circulated the ideals of the Scottish Enlightenment, they also subverted the metanarrative that a civilized North America was possible only through a violent expulsion of indigenous people, cultures, and beliefs.

Copway's path to literary success and demand for his services as an orator began under the auspices of the Methodist church in Canada. As a young man, Copway followed in the footsteps of his parents and converted to Christianity, specifically within the Methodist church, which financed Copway's English education, trained him for the mission field, and sent him to indigenous communities in the Northern United States where he honed his public speaking craft. While Copway's success and longevity as a missionary did not rival the career of his mentor, Peter Jones (né Sacred Feather), he possessed enough rhetorical skill that a "warrior named Spear Maker threatened to tomahawk George Copway if he ever approached his wigwam to talk about Christianity" (D. Smith, *Mississauga* 172). Mission work also introduced Copway to the world of publishing when he began assisting with translations of the Christian Bible.[83] However, as Smith recounts, Copway's increasing responsibilities within the church, coupled with his tendency to work

autonomously, led to accusations of embezzlement and, ultimately, a brief stint in jail.[84] Expulsion from the Wesleyan Methodist Church followed in 1846 and, under the threat of personal and financial ruin, Copway sought a new church body in the United States but found a more successful career as a writer and orator.

While legal and financial struggles derailed Copway's missionary work, his literary career was met with near immediate success. His first monograph, *The Life, History, and Travels, of Kah-ge-ga-gah-bowh,* published in 1847, underwent six printings in the United States.[85] The popularity of *Life* led to Copway's demand as a public speaker, and in 1847-48 he toured the Northeast United States speaking on the history and culture of North American Indians, as well as temperance.[86] The height of Copway's renown proved to be 1850 when he published *The Traditional History and Characteristic Sketches of the Ojibway Nation,* traveled to Germany as a North American representative at the Peace Congress, held meetings with prominent figures across Europe, and continued his lectures on Indian ways of life and temperance for a European audience.[87] This publicity helped advance his literary career and resulted in *Life* being reprinted under the title *Recollections of a Forest Life; or the Life and Travels of Kah-ge-ga-gah-bowh* in London, Edinburgh, and Dublin in 1850 with a second edition appearing in 1851.[88] Copway wrote about his European tour and the Peace Congress in *Running Sketches of Men and Places, in England, France, Germany, Belgium, and Scotland,* which was printed in the United States in 1851, the same year his final, major publishing project—the newspaper, *Copway's American Indian*—was launched. Even though the newspaper lasted only four months, letters of support and/or contributions from James Fenimore Cooper, Edward Everett, Henry Schoolcraft, Washington Irving, and others reveal the circle of influence Copway

enjoyed at this period in his life. And the breadth of topics that appeared in *Copway's American Indian,* from the condition of indigenous people in North America to articles from European periodicals, reveal the transatlantic scope of George Copway's life as viewed through the printed word.

Most scholars approach Copway's monographs through discussions of the variety of genres within which Copway ostensibly wrote. His most financially successful text, *The Life, History, and Travels,* is an autobiographical work and, as A. LaVonne Brown Ruoff, Bernd Peyer, and Donald B. Smith have demonstrated, the text adheres to many conventions found in spiritual confessions and slave narratives: recounting one's liberation from spiritual and/or physical bondage, and contrasting one's new self with the old self's degraded condition/environment.[89] At times, Copway's work in the United States circulated as a spiritual text, evidenced by its purchase in 1847 by "J. Harmstead, a publisher who specialized in religious tracts and was agent to the Methodist Sunday School Union of Philadelphia" (Round 177). However, by 1858, both *Life, Letters and Speeches* and *Traditional History of the Ojibwe* were republished by Weed and Parsons who published "a great deal of legal literature" (178). In addition to fitting in well with a catalogue of religious texts, Kevin Hutchings argues that Copway's *Life/Recollections,* "directly or indirectly adapted a primitivist concept of the 'noble savage'" by incorporating ideas garnered from British Romantic writers (218). *Running Sketches,* on the other hand, as Cecelia Morgan and Maureen Konkle discuss, bears the hallmarks of a tradition well-established by the nineteenth century—the travelogue or travel literature.[90] Although Peyer correctly points out that Copway relies on word-for-word reprints from travel guides and other publications, I disagree this technique renders *Running Sketches* "boring" or a work of "tedious banalities of plagiarized touristic trivia" (276). To the contrary,

Copway's use of existing texts establishes him as both an indigenous and cosmopolitan person, one with both the access and ability to read and appreciate British publications. Here, Meredith L. McGill's work regarding the nineteenth-century culture of reprinting, which flourished between the United States and Britain, is instructive if we consider Copway's habit of incorporating unattributed work into his own texts as part of "the popular circulation of uncopyrighted texts [which] helped to give certain kinds of writing by socially marginal authors a powerful cultural presence" (41). While locating Copway's published texts in the context of established genres helps to reconcile some of the perceived contradictions readers may find in his work and person, I find it equally helpful to leave space for the possibility that a text can employ multiple genres and multiple voices in an effort to present a blended worldview.

Much like the texts Copway created, Copway himself is almost exclusively discussed as a liminal figure, never fully belonging to any nationality, belief system, or culture and, in many ways, he carefully crafted this complex persona. Cecilia Morgan contends the inability to categorize Copway leads some scholars to regard him with "thinly veiled distaste" (529), which seems evident in Peyer's suggestion that Copway "consistently acted out both systems of belief"—i.e. traditional Ojibwe beliefs and Christian beliefs—"after both of these self-proclaimed titles had long since ceased to have any semblance of legitimacy" (236-7). Morgan, however, suggests Copway's dual performance of "Indianness" and "gentlemanliness," often served him in practical ways by facilitating invitations from influential people, securing speaking engagements, and attracting audiences as he traveled throughout North America and Europe (527-528). And, while Hutchings agrees Copway's work is "often fraught with tensions difficult to resolve," he posits that Copway's "otherwise incompatible worldviews" (224) can be, in fact, reconciled if we consider that few people embrace the totality of a religious system (Christianity

or traditional, indigenous belief) or a single identity shaped by culture or nationality (British Canadian, American, Ojibwe, etc.). Tim Fulford and Hutchings also invoke the work of Homi K. Bhabha in rejecting easy categorization by asserting "hybridity does not simply imply the mixing of pre-given identities; rather, it brings into question the very notion of such purity" (14). Jace Weaver, in *The Red* Atlantic, also reminds readers that "Natives and their cultures had always been highly adaptive, appropriating anything that seemed useful or powerful" (30). Ultimately, I follow Konkle's lead regarding Copway's propensity to inhabit two cultures simultaneously: "rather than assailing him for not knowing who he is, we should pay attention to what Copway had to say about his experiences" (189). I approach Copway's texts with the understanding that he, like many of his contemporaries, operated within seemingly disparate systems/traditions, rejecting practices, ideas, and beliefs that did not serve his purposes, while retaining those that did.

While Philip J. Deloria does not mention Copway in *Playing Indian*, Copway's life and work shared many similarities with the phenomena Deloria traces through post-contact North America in which "increasing numbers of Indians participated in white people's Indian play, assisting, confirming, co-opting, challenging, and legitimating the performative tradition of aboriginal American identity" (8).[91] Throughout Copway's life and work, we see him "playing Indian" often: referring to himself as "Chief of the Ojibway Nation" on the title page of his texts when, in fact, he enjoyed no such designation within the Ojibwe community; reprinting published reports of the Peace Congress, which include references to his "costume" that was a "mixture of European elegance with Indian nature [which suggests] he has come from the forests of the New World, with a message of peace to the Old" (G. Copway, *Running* 210, 223)[92]; and finally, as Copway sought ways to support himself and his family through a variety of means,

including going "on a tour through the large cities, giving readings of [Longfellow's] 'Hiawatha' in full costume" ("In His Element" 2). Deloria, in discussing indigenous people in the early part of the twentieth century, argues that Indians playing Indian demonstrates "how little cultural capital Indians possessed at the time" (125). The same can be said of Copway in the nineteenth century, and Copway's strategic use of his Indianness illustrates that he was willing to use whatever "cultural capital" necessary in whatever situation he found himself.

Regardless of how scholars portray Copway's cultural identities or the texts he created, the one element of his biography and his work that nearly everyone recounts is his affinity for celebrity culture: "he loved the limelight" (D. Smith, *Mississauga* 191) as "Canada's first international literary celebrity" (Hutchings 217), a designation "that he seems to have done his best to exploit" (Konkle 165). However, as Weaver demonstrates throughout *The Red Atlantic,* indigenous people had traveled through Europe centuries before Copway, and "they became celebrities, their comings and goings—often their every move—[was] followed by press and public" (189). Copway, perhaps more than his predecessors, did relish his celebrity and dedicated much space in his texts to encounters with renowned women and men, along with the inclusion of reprints of newspaper accounts of his own speeches and activities. However, that Copway was self-confident and perhaps arrogant, eager to please and be pleased, is almost an unremarkable trait among nineteenth-century, American writers. Further complicating any discussion of Copway's work is the generally accepted supposition that Copway's English wife, Elizabeth Howell Copway, served as an uncredited collaborator of his work.[93] The challenge of rectifying Copway's seemingly disparate worldviews, self-professed identities, authorship of texts published under his name, and worlds he inhabited is more problematic for the reader than for Copway himself. He does not fit the stereotypical noble savage of a Cooper novel or a

Longfellow poem, nor does he satisfy completely the role of resistant activist such as a William Apess or a Peter Jones. Copway shifted between identities at times, and often inhabited the same spaces at once. And, Copway's resistance to being fully categorized is what makes his work and life unique in the annals of works created by nineteenth-century, indigenous writers.

"Shrewd Print Choices": Copway's *Life* in London, Edinburgh, and Ireland

While important work has been done on Copway's texts and biography, scant attention has been paid to his efforts both to earn income from his writing and to disseminate his texts beyond North America. As mentioned previously, *Life, Letters and Speeches of Kah-ge-ga-gah-bowh* was republished as *Recollections of a Forest Life; or the Life and Travels of Kah-ge-ga-gah-bowh* for a European market in 1850. Phillip H. Round argues that nineteenth-century indigenous writers such as Copway, David Cusick, Paul Cuffe, William Apess, Sarah Winnemucca Hopkins and others became "proprietary authors" and "made impressively shrewd print choices about which publishers to use and how their works should be laid out and marketed" (152). And, Coll Thrush, in *Indigenous London: Native Travelers at the Heart of Empire*, recounts how E. Pauline Johnson (née Tekahionwake), the Mohawk poet, forged a relationship with the London publisher, John Lane, who published her collection of poetry, *The White Wampum*, in the late nineteenth century (17-18). However, little attention has been given to how Copway entered into a publishing agreement with Charles Gilpin in London, Adam and Charles Black in Edinburgh, and James Gilpin in Dublin, the three publishing houses that brought his work to a British audience, nor the role Copway played in revisions made to the British edition of his text. In their notes to the critical edition of Copway's *Life, Letters, and Speeches*, Ruoff and Smith contend: "The British edition contains literary quotations at the beginning of each chapter. Because the publishers undoubtedly added the hymns and quotations,

these are not included in these notes" (213). Such a supposition assumes Copway was a passive player in the reprinting of his text for a British audience.

I argue a single source was used for the epigraphs that appear at the beginning of each chapter of *Recollections*, and that they were chosen by Copway and his presumed collaborator, Elizabeth. While many of the epigraphs are from works that one would assume most any British publisher would employ to enhance a text— quotes from Shakespeare, Byron, and Scott—quotes from obscure American writers such as Prosper Wetmore and J.H. Clinch are also used.[94] A text titled *A Dictionary of Poetical Quotations: Consisting of Elegant Extracts on Every Subject* published in Philadelphia in1848, appears to be the most likely source. The quotes found in both *Recollections* and *A Dictionary* are nearly identical; for instance, lines used in *Recollections* from longer works such as Shakespeare's *Henry VI* are the same two lines found in *A Dictionary* under the heading, "Activity—Enterprise" (16). I have found no evidence to suggest this collection was republished in Europe nor have I located a collection of quotes published by a British press that includes all seventeen quotes. While it is possible that one of Copway's British publishers had access to *A Dictionary,* it does not appear to be a text which enjoyed wide circulation: in addition to the single edition published in 1848, it was not republished until 1879, again in Philadelphia.[95] The most likely explanation is that Copway enjoyed editorial control of the British edition of *Recollections* in terms of including epigraphs, as well as more substantive changes that I will discuss later in this chapter. I also argue that one of Copway's "shrewd print choices" was to seek out publishers who, like himself, were activists in their communities. Employing the Gilpins and the Blacks, who were activists and politicians in addition to being publishers, aligned Copway's newly dubbed *Recollections of a Forest Life* with broader movements dedicated to social, political, and moral reformation.

Charles Gilpin: London

No trail of letters between Copway and Charles Gilpin exists to establish how the writer's work came into the publisher's hands but textual evidence provides glimpses of why a professional publishing relationship would come to fruition between these two men. Gilpin's biography mirrors Copway's in several significant ways. Both men were born near the beginning of the nineteenth century into religious communities. The Gilpins of Bristol, England were Quakers, a faith Gilpin maintained throughout his lifetime, as evidenced by many of the texts he published that were either works by Quaker writers or ones that dealt with political issues consistent with Quaker beliefs such as opposition to a death penalty. Gilpin was identified in reviews as "the Quaker bookseller and publisher" (Armbrust 306), and his obituary in *The Times* of London refers to him as "of Quaker extraction" ("The Late" 7). Gilpin's ancillary activities as an activist and speaker, much like Copway, seem to have occupied as much time as his vocation as a bookseller and publisher. Gilpin was a member of the Anti-Slavery Society and the Hungarian Relief Committee, and "assisted zealously in the measure which led to the holding of the Peace Congress at Brussels, at Paris, as Frankfurt, and in London" (7), the same Peace Congress Copway attended and devoted much space to in *Running Sketches*.

Gilpin, like Copway, also kept careful track of how he was perceived in the media, especially in terms of how his speeches on violence were reported. In a 24 May 1851 letter to the editor of *The Times*, Gilpin asks that they clarify a statement he made during the Common Council regarding the revolutions in Europe during 1848-49 ("To the Editor" 7). While a supporter, and later a friend, of Louis Kossuth, Gilpin is adamant that championing an oppressed people's right to defend themselves is not a blanket endorsement of violence. He writes: "the principles of Christianity did not under any circumstances justify an appeal to the sword, but that

on the principles generally recognized between nations Kossuth was not only justified, but was bound to do what he did, to break the iron rod of oppression which was stretched over his country" (7). Even after Gilpin abandoned the publishing industry in the late 1860s to become fully vested in business and politics, he maintained his dedication to protecting his public persona as a Christian pacifist.[96] While correcting a 6 July 1868 story that appeared in *The Times* which suggested Gilpin did not support the military, Gilpin writes: "I hope that I have proved by my many votes in Parliament that in all that can conduce to their moral and intellectual advancement I am (while a hater of war) the soldier's friend" ("To the Editor" 6). The image, then, that emerges of Gilpin is of a man as dedicated to protecting his reputation as he was the causes he championed.

In Copway, we see a similar dedication to both extolling the virtues of Christian pacifism and attempting to correct depictions of his message which may have been misconstrued or unappreciated. A consistent theme which runs throughout Copway's *Life/Recollections* (as well as *Running Sketches*) is the irony of Europeans and white Americans viewing Indians as violent when it was Europeans and EuroAmericans who employed Indians to fight in their conflicts. In *Recollections*, Copway wrote: "Sometimes the Indian has been called upon to go and show his bravery in the field. I ask you, gentlemen, as intelligent men,–men who live in an enlightened age,–which was the most savage, those who knew not the origins of these wars, or those who did?" (203). Copway reminded his readers often that his Christian faith and pacifism transformed him, as well as many in his community, and—coupled with an English education—could provide salvation for all North American Indians not only in the next life but in this life as well.[97] "I love peace," Copway insists "I am for peace" (193). And yet, like Gilpin, Copway was willing to fight with words when he felt his ideas had been misunderstood. In *Running*

Sketches, Copway reprinted a lengthy article from *The Times,* which included commentary on the speech Copway himself delivered at the Peace Congress. The article concludes by asking, "of what avail is it to persist in such visionary schemes?" (252). Copway responded to the article with "an Englishman whose very country is now groaning of a debt created by the past folly of its Heads, is the last one who could be expected to say so much against the present benevolent movement of the cause of Peace" (252). Copway and Gilpin were likeminded in their veneration for a life lived through religious faith and a cessation of global conflicts, and they also may have seen in one another allies against the press, especially the London *Times*.

Copway's *Life/Recollections* was already a transnational narrative since it was an autobiography about an Ojibwe person whose birthplace was stolen by the British government the year of his birth; a narrative written in English and published in the United States. However, his pacifist worldview became part of a larger, transatlantic—perhaps even global—narrative when it became part of Gilpin's catalogue. The back pages of *Recollections* include an advertisement for "Books Published by Charles Gilpin," a list of nearly one hundred titles on a wide variety of topics ranging from the promotion of moral and religious instruction, especially for youth and families, to criticism of chattel slavery around the globe to championing the rights of the working poor.[98] On the topic of enslaved people, Gilpin published several pamphlets, notably *The Island of Cuba: The Resources, Progress, and Prospects*, whose main concern is sugar production and slavery, and a second text *The Jamaica Movement for Promoting the Enforcement of Slave Trade Treaties, &c.* Like most pamphlets published in the nineteenth century these works were not destined to become best sellers; however, these pamphlets, like many other texts Gilpin published, were reviewed by *The Economist*. While neither Gilpin's catalogue nor his publishing reputation would achieve the notoriety of John Murray publishing,

some of his texts were regarded as equally important as the titles Murray released. In January 1848, *The Economist* jointly reviewed *A Visit to Connaught in the Autumn of 1847* published by Gilpin along with *English Misrule and Irish Misdeeds* published by Murray. *A Visit* was addressed to the Central Relief Committee of the Society of Friends in Dublin with the express intent of describing the suffering among the poorest Irish communities, offering "suggestions as to the means by which some, at least, of the miseries of Ireland may be alleviated or removed" (4). Of these works, *The Economist* reviewer writes "Both are good, each of its kind," (99) and that aid must be rendered to Ireland. In the context of Gilpin's catalogue, then, Copway's *Recollections*, which contains a purported cure for social ills—adoption of a Christian worldview, education, and autonomous control of land and resources—not only enjoyed a larger circulation, it also became part of a larger narrative about the struggle of disenfranchised people around the globe.

Despite their ideological similarities, Copway did not recount meeting Gilpin among the scores of names he mentioned in *Running Sketches* from his tour of Great Britain. He did, however, make contact with at least one man whose work Gilpin had published: John Pringle Nichol, who was the chair of Astronomy at the University of Glasgow, and wrote *Memorials from Ben Rhydding, Concerning the Place, its People, its Cures* about Nichol's addiction to opiates, which was published in 1852 by Gilpin.[99] In *Running Sketches*, Copway writes that while traveling through Edinburgh, he "met J. P. Nichols, [*sic*] L.L.D., with whom I found much interest, as he has been in America, and spoke much in favor of the Americans as a kind-hearted race" (296). Copway also includes Gilpin's uncle, Joseph Sturge, among the names of delegates attending the Peace Congress (*Running* 209). Sturge, "a politician and practical philanthropist" who was "closely associated" with the Peace Congress, was an influential figure in Gilpin's life

("The Late" 7). Whether or not Copway spent a significant amount of time with either Gilpin or Sturge, their activities, interests, and ideologies overlapped to such a degree that Copway would find Gilpin a suitable publisher and Gilpin would find Copway's text a suitable fit for his catalogue.

The House of Black: Edinburgh

Adam Black attended Edinburgh University in 1798-99 to study Latin and Greek before abandoning the academic life for the world of business and politics. Not long after establishing himself as a bookseller in Edinburgh, he invited his nephew, Charles, to become a partner in A. and C. Black. Charles was remembered by Adam Black's biographer as "a much-beloved and valuable partner, whose intellectual capacity, cultivated taste, and pleasing manners, greatly contributed to the success of the business" (Nicolson 165). Not only was Adam the founder of Black publishing, he was also the most civic minded of the duo and, much like Charles Gilpin, his activities as a civil servant coincided with the titles he chose to publish. Adam and Charles Black acquired the copyright to the profitable *Encyclopaedia Britannica* "the greatest of all eighteenth-century Scottish publishing enterprises" (Feather 80) from Archibald Constable, and they also became the distributors of *The Edinburgh Review*. In 1846, A. and C. Black was sued by the son of Dugald Stewart—the scholar credited with identifying the Scottish Enlightenment as a cohesive movement—who claimed the Blacks had published works by his father in a supplement to the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* without permission. "After two days' trial," however, "the jury returned a unanimous verdict for the defenders," and the Blacks avoided a potentially devastating financial setback (Nicolson 142). In 1851, shortly after publishing Copway's *Recollections* in conjunction with the Gilpins, the Blacks made a second acquisition which bolstered their reputation as much as their financial standing: they acquired the copyright

to Sir Walter Scott's remaining works which, next to obtaining the rights to publish the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, was "the most important addition to the business of [the Blacks] firm" (Nicholson 156). [100] Feather contends that Adam and Charles Black was one of four Scottish houses that "in the first two decades of the nineteenth century . . . [mounted] a serious and sustained challenge to London's domination of British publishing" (80). Despite this success, however, Adam Black, like Charles Gilpin spent much of his adult life more interested in a political, rather than a publishing, career.

In 1831, Black entered the civic arena of Edinburgh politics as a member of the Edinburgh Merchant Company, which was founded in the eighteenth century to protect the economic viability of the city. Black was a moderate, Liberal reformer, "pressing for limited constitutional and civil reform" (Millar n.p.). Throughout Black's life, he was civic minded, serving on the community boards of the Merchant Maiden Hospital, Edinburgh Chamber of Commerce, Edinburgh Zoological Gardens, the Philosophical Institution, and others. He championed the local political campaigns of Whig candidates such as Francis Jeffrey, the founder of *The Edinburgh Review*. Black also served as a member of parliament from 1855 to 1865, when he was 81 (Nicholson 168-173). Black's involvement in politics, coupled with his career in publishing, provided him opportunities to forge relationships with, and between, people in different realms of interest:

> His position as link man between leading whig [*sic*] lawyers and the business community in Edinburgh was enhanced by the contacts he formed with nationally prominent figures, especially whigs, through being agent for the *Edinburgh Review* and publisher of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica.* (Millar n.p.)

Much like Charles Gilpin's worldview might explain Copway's attraction to such a publisher, Adam Black's "position as link man" would have held an equal draw for Copway. Black's desire to bridge academic realms with the marketplace and to strive for moderation in constitutional matters mirrors the way Copway often viewed his own role in the communities with which he was associated.

Richard Cobden, Anti-Corn Laws, and the Peace Congress

While Copway makes no mention in *Running Sketches* of meeting Adam and Charles Black, Richard Cobden, who Copway names at least twenty-seven times, serves as a potential link between Copway, Gilpin, and the Blacks, as Copway describes having breakfast with Cobden (126), and discusses Cobden's role in the Peace Congress proceedings at length. Despite a limited formal education, Cobden, born in Sussex in 1804, became a successful businessperson in the textile industry, an active community member as police commissioner, a board member of the Manchester chamber of commerce, a writer of pamphlets and, ultimately, a member of parliament. His role as an activist, however, linked him most closely to Copway, Black and Gilpin.

Cobden was an influential member of the Anti-Corn Law League, an organization formed to protest Corn Laws, which in Britain in 1815, imposed tariffs on all types of imported grain, measures which negatively affected not only merchants such as Cobden but also working men and women championed by men like Gilpin.[101] Adam Black exerted his political influence and made the motion to repeal the Corn Laws in the early 1840s, although they would not be repealed until 1846. Cobden "understood the importance of organization, lecturing, and above all, election tactics, and his voice became one of the most influential when the council of the league determined strategy" (M. Taylor n.p.). Black's biographer recounts Cobden's speeches in

Edinburgh in support of Black's motion, describing them as "clear and powerful speeches [that] carried the conviction and sympathies of the majority of the inhabitants" (Nicholson 118). Copway anticipates this praise when he describes Cobden at the Peace Congress: "His overwhelming arguments have rolled over the empire, and echoed among the hills and forests of our own country" (*Running* 103). He is "the champion of the people and the exponent of political rights" (104). And, according to Gilpin's obituary, Cobden was, next to Joseph Sturge, the most influential person in Gilpin's life (7).[102] An affinity for agitation on multiple fronts—affecting legislation as an elected politician, lecturing in town halls and churches, writing and publishing subversive texts—these activities, in one way or another, explain how the paths of Copway, Black, Gilpin, and Cobden intersected.

Copway's association with these figures who moved back and forth between the worlds of publishing and political engagement underscores the ways Copway himself often served as a potential "link man" between seemingly disparate people and spaces. His life and work complicate the facile stages set by a stadial view of history as he attempted to demonstrate how a person could leap from the so-called primitive stage directly to a civilized state of one who engages in commercial activities. Deloria's discussion of early twentieth-century indigenous people who played Indian, again provides a helpful framework with which to consider Copway's persona: they "wanted to become bridge figures, using antimodern primitivism to defend native cultures against the negative stereotypes left over from colonial conquest" (P. Deloria 122). Copway, like scores of other North American Indians, had firsthand experience of having his people's land colonialized but he presented himself as one who successfully integrated into white society while still maintaining a deep respect for his indigenous cultural background. His public persona embraced a life of the forest, a space that, by the nineteenth century, had become

idealized as a place for solitude and reflection, and he embraced the city, a space where one could work the lecture circuit, procure international publishers, speak in front of political bodies at home and abroad, all while arguing one's point of view in a peaceful manner.

Recollections of Stadial History

In many ways, Copway's *Life/Recollections* read as texts that endorse a stadial view of history.[103] The opening lines of "A Word to the Reader" in which Copway identifies himself as one "who has but recently been brought out of a wild and savage state" are unchanged from the U.S. to the British edition (*Recollections* xi). These lines encapsulate a worldview that ascribes to the notion that humans begin in a savage state (usually as hunters) and progress to a civilized state (engaged in commerce). With a new title that emphasized the text was the story of a *forest* life, in this new version of his autobiography, Copway and his publishers embraced the entirety of the Scottish Enlightenment in regards to viewing indigenous people as lost in the savage wilds.

The decision to retitle his autobiography, *Recollections of a Forest Life*, may also indicate a decision by Copway (and his publishers) to echo William Apess's self-published *A Son of the Forest. The Experience of William Apes*[sic], *A Native of the Forest* (1829). The two titles, however, signal how differently Copway and Apess viewed their experience in the forest: Apess identifies himself twice as associated with the forest, both as someone who hails from the woods ("native") and still considers himself a "son" of the forest. In contrast, Copway's title creates a sense of distance and nostalgia with his use of "recollections"—i.e. a forest life is something he recalls but it is not necessarily a life with which he currently identifies. And, while Copway specifically identifies his past as one lived in a "savage state" (xi), Apess never uses the word savage as a personal identifier. The word "savage" does appear thirteen different times in

A Son of the Forest but, each time it appears, it is within a direct quotation from someone else which Apess then either directly or indirectly refutes. For example, the first reference comes as Apess images his readers' response to his description of the abuse he received from his grandparents as a child: "I suppose that the reader will naturally say, 'What savage creatures my grandparents were'" (14). To which Apess immediately responds: "I attribute it in part to the whites, because they introduced among my countrymen ardent spirits" (14). Apess makes similar moves throughout his text, and seven instances of the inclusion of the word savage all come from the essay he reprints in the appendix of the text: Irving's "Traits of Indian Character."

Even though the savage/civilized dichotomy is maintained throughout much of the British edition of Copway's *Recollections*—which is to be expected given that the vast majority of the two texts are identical—the changes Copway and his collaborators made begin to subvert the very dichotomy they appear to endorse. The text is indeed dramatically altered within the first few pages of chapter 1, beginning with the addition of epigraphs. While it is doubtful many British readers would recognize the words of the American poet, Prosper Wetmore (identified only as P.M.W.), the contrast between the pious voice which introduces the U.S. edition, which immediately evoked a degraded state—"The Christian will no doubt feel for my poor people" (69)—and the reflective poetic voice which introduces the British edition—"As we look back through life, in our moments of sadness,/How few and how brief are the gleamings of gladness!" (1)—is stark. Readers encounter the pious voice and "poor people" after a few pages of the British edition but the initial impression of the voice Copway adopted in the British edition is one that calls into question the idea that he had ever been in a "wild and savage state" let alone "recently."

Other aspects of these new opening pages to chapter 1 performed some obvious work, such as paying supplication to a new reading audience, which suggests not only an intentionality on Copway's part but also a desire for the text to perform well in this new literary marketplace. He figuratively kneels before "the noble Britons," paying homage to "the greatness of Palefaces" (1). While many readers may find the image debasing, it indicates Copway's awareness of cultural traditions that he may have experienced himself or heard from acquaintances, such as Peter Jones who, as an Ojibwe emissary, bowed before Queen Victoria in 1838.[104] Even in Copway's dedication to the new edition, he demonstrated a shift in who he imaged to be his intended audience. The original dedication reads: "To the clergy and laity of the American and British dominions, this brief history of a child in the forest, and of his nation, is most respectfully and affectionately inscribed by the author" (63). This dedication suggests he did not have a general readership in mind but rather specifically those associated with Methodist missions in Canada and the United States. The dedication to the British edition, however, signals that Copway had a more expansive audience in mind (albeit still limited by the boundaries of Christendom): "To Christians of all denominations, this brief history of a child of the forest, is most respectfully and affectionately inscribed by the author." These dedications also signal two additional shifts in how Copway viewed himself and his text in the world: in the original dedication, he saw himself as part of a "nation," and while he did not specify which nation, since it follows "a brief history of," it is reasonable to assume he identified himself as part of the Ojibwe Nation. In the British edition, Copway presented himself as a citizen of no designated nation, perhaps implying he was a citizen of the world. And finally, a subtle change of prepositions is significant: the original dedication reads from "a child **in** the forest," which

suggests only the geographic state of one's location, while the British edition reads "a child **of** the forest," which suggests an essential ontological component of one's being (emphasis mine).

The forest, then, does more than take a prominent place in the title of the British edition; it sets the tone for the entire text. If we return to Wetmore's opening poem once again, we see an invocation of a pastoral scene (emphasis mine):

> Yet we find, 'midst the gleam that our **path**way o'ershaded,
> A few spots of **sunshine**, a few **flowers** unfaded;
> And memory still hoards, as her richest of treasures,
> Some moments of rapture, some exquisite pleasures. (1)

Copway mirrors the imagery of Wetmore's poem in the opening paragraph when he writes:

> The **path** I have trodden has been here and there rugged, steep, and intricate. **Flowers** and thorns have clustered in my bosom at the same time, and have left the aching heart to bleed. **Sunshine** has also succeeded the darkest hours of sorrow, and the bereavements of the past. (1-2)

The imagery is intentional and evokes a pastoral setting in which the natural world can be treacherous—rugged and steep, filled with thorns and darkness—but also a place of respite. The imagery also demonstrates that the inclusion of epigraphs was most likely the work of Copway (and perhaps Elizabeth) rather than choices made by his British publishers. More significantly, however, invoking natural imagery from a North American poet created a connection with the British Romantic poets. Copway's romantic imagery, as Fulford has pointed out in *Romantic Indians*, contains echoes of Wordsworth, which Fulford argues is another form of prostration on Copway's part, a "watered-down and sentimental Romanticism" (285-286). Fulford specifically references Wordsworth's "Immortality Ode" and suggests the comparison "is not a pose that

allows an author an, active, adult voice" (286). I disagree with Fulford's assertion because the imagery with which Copway ends the opening paragraph suggests a closer connection to Wordsworth's "Lines Composed a Few Miles Above Tintern Abbey," a poem whose persona speaks as an adult reflecting not only upon a youthful past but also on a more mature present, while further imaging himself in the future. Copway writes: "Yet, after all, I could wish to live a life over again, which, of itself, has some bright spots, which the future itself cannot efface with its glory" (2). Copway also ends the paragraph with imagery that mirrors "Lines" more so than "Immortality." He concludes: "A nature as free as the deer, a heart as light as dawn of day" (2), which echoes Wordsworth's "I came among these hills; when like a roe/I bounded o'er the mountains" (ln. 69-70). Then, Copway transitions from the lofty language of Romanticism he has invoked for the British edition to the more mundane supplication with which the U.S. version begins: "The Christian will, no doubt, feel for my poor people" (3).

Copway's desire to speak the language of Romanticism back to a British audience is an indication that his text does not merely reinforce a stadial view of history but seeks, in subtle ways, to subvert the notion that indigenous people were savage by nature. Here it is helpful to return to Slotkin's "captive and hunter" dyad in *The Fatal Environment*. Slotkin contends that seventeenth-century captivity narratives were used to demonstrate that whites could "seize the natural, original power that is immanent" in spaces that indigenous people inhabited, and upon their return from captivity "they will be capable of renewing the moral and physical powers of the society they originally left" (63). Copway's use of the language of Romanticism in the opening chapter of *Recollections*, coupled with his inclusion of epigraphs from Lord Byron, Scott, Shakespeare, and other writers from the British Isles serves as an indication that he had flipped the script, and that there was more than

one way to view an intermingling of Indians and whites in the nineteenth century. The paths through the forests ran both ways, and while Indians could achieve salvation through education and Christianity, as Copway suggested, they could also "seize the natural, original power" of civilization and return to Indian communities capable of "renewing the moral and physical powers" of those communities. Copway's *Recollections,* for all its echoes of stadial history, can also be viewed as a reverse captivity narrative.

Copway's ability to seemingly argue two points of view at once is one reason that causes some readers to dismiss his work; however, the changes he made to the British edition of *Recollections* seem to challenge readers to consider the value of a life lived within the tension of seeming contradictions. Consider Copway's decision to include the letter written by Lord Sydenham (Charles Poulett Thomson) who was named the governor general of Canada in 1839, during the time when he "negotiated Upper Canada's acceptance of the plan of Union with Lower Canada" (D. Smith, *Sacred* 178). Sydenham had little faith in plans that would bring whites and indigenous people into constant contact with one another and, in a letter to his superior, he contends that such efforts are "an injury to the Indians" because they forfeit "all the good qualities of [their] wild state, and [acquire] nothing but the vices of civilization" (131). Sydenham also argues that Indians occupy "valuable land," which is wasteful because they will not engage in agriculture or become "good settler[s]" (131-132). In the U.S. edition, Copway allowed the letter to speak for itself; however, in the British edition, Copway asserted more control over the narrative by adding three paragraphs of explanation. In the first paragraph Copway indicated that the letter was indicative of the type of leadership

indigenous people had endured from the British. The second paragraph bears quoting in full:

> The natives are now doing well. They have farms of their own, upon which many of them raise from ten to fifteen hundred bushels of wheat for their families. By their own means they have kept up their schools. Churches, erected by themselves, are everywhere to be seen. We have ministers and school-teachers belonging to our nation. And yet we have not improved. (132)

Copway's response seems to be a wholesale endorsement of a stadial view of history: Indians had moved from more primitive stages of hunting and fishing, and adopted an agricultural lifestyle, English-style homes and education, and Christianity. Yet, Copway frames this supposed civilized state of being with contradictory statements: "The natives are now doing well"; "And yet we have not improved." Copway made a rhetorical choice to suggest a subtle truth: adopting another's cultural practices and beliefs could bring good things to a community unless doing so meant a complete subversion of one's own practices and beliefs. Copway also made clear that these changes within indigenous communities, which seemed to mirror English ways of being and living, had come in spite of, rather than because of, "encouragement and assistance" from the English (132). In the closing paragraph Copway contends "if we had asked for whiskey [from the English], we could have got it; but anything to raise and benefit us we could not get." These new paragraphs added to the British edition served to belie the notion that the hallmarks of whites' perception of what distinguished a civilized people from a savage people—i.e. agricultural pursuits, English-style education, Christianity—were innately

characteristics of whites. Indigenous people as a whole, Copway argued, had moved through the stages on their own despite the English's concerted effort to destroy them. And Copway himself, as an individual, was able to move directly from the savage woods to civilization.

Additional changes Copway made as *Life* became *Recollections* demonstrate ways he exercised editorial control over both the text itself and the often complicated message he wanted to share with his audience. Both editions of the text contain a preface, and some of the language Copway used is identical; however, the preface to the U.S. edition employed the language of the evangelist, a language Copway learned and embraced as a missionary. The U.S. preface ends with this exhortation to readers:

> Pray for us—that *religion* and *science* may lead us on to intelligence and virtue; that we may imitate the good, white man, who, like the eagle, builds its nest on the top of some high rock—*science*; that we may educate our children, and turn their minds to God. Help us, O help us to live—and teach us to die a Christian's death, that our spirits may mingle with the blessed above. (65)

The implication here is that the only hope for indigenous people is for European, Christian ways of knowing and being to supplant indigenous ways of knowing and being. While this theme remains in other places throughout Copway's *Recollections,* it is expunged from its preface. In its place, he added four paragraphs, which were more secular and less prescriptive. Here, Copway was thinking more about the circulation of his text than he was about the circulation of the Gospel of Jesus Christ: "My book goes to the firesides of the thousand happy homes of the white man!" (Copway x). Copway regrets that he is unable to visit all of these firesides in person, and encourages his readers to "Tell your own story of my gratitude to the white man."

However, if we consider the progression of the commands that follow, it becomes evident that Copway was not addressing the reader but rather giving instructions to his text:

> Yes! go, where I never shall be, and you will still be speaking, long, long after my tears will have ceased to flow, and I be numbered with the past.
>
> Visit the gaudy palaces of the great, and whisper in their ears what rivers are in store for doing good.
>
> Visit the humble homes of the poor, and let the cares, hopes, and joys of the one you speak of comfort and console the care-worn pilgrims of earth; for I love them because they are my brother in affliction!

In the U.S. preface, Copway envisioned himself, and the indigenous people for whom he claims to speak, in the helpless pose of supplication ("pray for us," "lead us," "help us," "teach us") asking for assistance so that he/they may ascend to the lofty perch of whites. In the British preface, Copway located himself as the agent of wisdom sending his text out into the world to enlighten others. He entreats his own text/message to "go" and "visit," "speaking" and "whisper[ing]" words of comfort to the afflicted. This move on Copway's part added an additional feature as well, as the implied message to the reader served as a shrewd marketing device: this story is vitally important, so tell a friend to buy this book.

Copway made a similar marketing move in chapter 5 of the British edition. In a section in which he introduces the topic of Indian migration to North America, the following footnote is added: "This tradition [*sic*] history of the Ojibways will soon be given to the public, and each may judge for himself with reference to the former history of our Indians" (44). Granted, this could be a note added by the publisher but it is an advertisement that could benefit both publisher and writer. If the version readers held in their hands included the supplementary section, "Books

Published by Charles Gilpin" (and the editions I have viewed do) then they could learn more about *The Traditional History and Characteristic Sketches of the Ojibway Nation* under the heading "The Ojibway Nation." The listing also included this description: "The above work is full of interest, and written in the figurative style of speech-making, so celebrated among the North American Indians, by a man who has observed the progress of his nation, which is full of natural and poetic feeling" (5). Since most all of the other books listed for sale were accompanied by similar laudatory descriptions, it is likely Copway himself did not write this bit of advertising copy. However, the references to "figurative style" and "poetic feeling" certainly is evocative of the intentional revisions Copway made to *Recollections.*

Copway's habit of reprinting other sources at length is seen by many readers as a flaw of Copway's texts, and yet revisions he made in *Recollections* in the ways he framed sources he used demonstrate another way Copway reshaped his narrative and exercised editorial control. One of the texts he reprinted was his own "Address before the Legislature of Pennsylvania," which appears in the U.S. edition with little introduction other than what was, presumably, included in the newspaper in which it was first printed. Readers are told when and where the address was delivered, and that Copway was a "chief of the Chippewa tribe," who had been delivering lectures around the city.[105] The brief introduction ends with: "We presume all feel an interest in the welfare of the Indians and we place this address before our readers, feeling they will be instructed in its reading" (175). When the same address was republished in the British edition, Copway reframed himself and wrote his own introduction. The new first person introduction recast Copway as an active player who achieved results in the struggle for indigenous people's rights.

> The following address before the Legislature of Pennsylvania will give some idea of the great object I have been endeavoring to bring before the different legislative bodies of the United States. At the close of the address I insert a copy of the resolution which has been passed in the North Carolina Legislature, as a specimen of the desire entertained by many for the success of my cause in America. Many others have passed similar resolutions. I have received letters of commendation from Government and from the mayors of the largest cities . . . (184)

The addition of this new introduction bolstered Copway's reputation in regards to the accomplishments he mentioned, and also served as a potential corrective to the destructive opinions and policies of men like Lord Sydenham who believed that nothing good could come from Indians and whites working together.[106]

Additional revisions Copway made within chapters of the British edition of *Life/Recollections* reflect his comfort with living in a state of contradiction. In chapter 3, he added a new phrase to the beginning of a sentence that originally read: "The Ojebwas [*sic*], as well as many others, acknowledged that there was but one Great Spirit . . ." (81). The beginning of the British edition reads: "However absurd may have been our notions of the multiplied deities of the earth, yet, as a general thing, the Ojibways, as well as many others, believed that there was but one Great Spirit . . ." (*Recollections* 27). This change, ascribing absurdity to traditional indigenous belief systems, is a marked change from the original version, which simply elucidated a belief system. The change suggests Copway felt the needs to apologize to an English audience for traditional indigenous beliefs. It hearkens us back to the opening lines of Robertson's *The History of Scotland*, in which he claimed the history of ancient people "are dark

and fabulous," and that they "cannot be recollected, and deserve not to be remembered" (1). On the other hand, later in the same chapter, when Copway is speaking of rituals that occur during indigenous religious services, he states, "There were four grades in the institution" (*Recollections* 29). In the U.S. edition, he claims these grades were similar to the Masonic institution. In the British edition, Copway strikes the reference to Masonic institutions and replaces it with an explanation of the role of medicine men:

> A medicine man is the most important personage in the worship of Indians. He is the high priest of the ceremony, and keeps all the records of traditions and emblems. He is also the keeper of the great bag which is full of herbs, which is opened only when lectures are given for to illustrate them. (29-30)

The passage is an excellent example of the ways that Copway embraced multiple cultural traditions. Copway's diction is most telling because in describing the medicine man as one who "keeps all the records," and opens his bag "only when lectures are given," Copway signaled to his British audience that some indigenous ways of knowing were not so different from the types of things that occur within English universities. Copway's treatment of indigenous culture and beliefs is indeed problematic in many instances, such as when he critiques a polytheistic worldview at the beginning of the chapter, but the ease with which he pivoted to a veneration of indigenous ways of knowing suggests, again, that his text often asks its readers to consider the value of a life lived in the tension of contradiction.

In chapter 4 of *Recollections*, Copway made a similar move—one that not only addressed different ways of knowing between Europeans and indigenous people but also demonstrated Copway's subtle inclination towards subverting the idea that there was only one way to do or believe anything. The U.S. version begins with a matter-of-fact statement: "Our people believed

much in omens," and then continues with a litany of animal activity related to said omens (86). For his British audience, Copway added a new paragraph to begin the chapter. He writes: "Superstition raises and nurses children from the cradle—through the wide world. Laugh as we may at another's simplicity and folly, the civilised [*sic*] and uncivilised [*sic*] have always had their notions of ghost-spirits" (38). Here, Copway belies the notion that a gulf of distance existed between what was deemed civilized and uncivilized, especially when applied to belief systems. While the remainder of the chapter focused primarily on "superstitions" within indigenous communities, Copway set the tone at the beginning by evoking "nurses" and a "cradle"—words that would have resonated with an English reader. Yet, the most telling choice Copway made in framing chapter 4 was its epigraph: "There are more things in heaven and earth, Horatio,/Than are dreamt of in your philosophy" (38). The lines are, of course, from Shakespeare's *Hamlet*, a play predicated on seemingly sophisticated Europeans whose every action (or inaction) was predicated on a ghost-spirit.

Copway's concern with the ethereal world is also seen in one of the most significant parts of his personal narrative: his conversion to Christianity, a narrative he also altered between the U.S. and British editions. If we accept the idea that this text follows many of the conventions of a spiritual confession, then these scenes may be considered the apex of Copway's narrative. Copway began his account of his own conversion to Christianity by recounting his parents' conversion. Both accounts of Copway's father's conversion are nearly word-for-word except the framing of the two versions is markedly different. The U.S. edition informed the reader that missionaries first visited their community in 1827. However, the British edition of chapter 7 begins with these lines: "Several years we had been with the English people after the war, and learned to drink the *fire-water* of the Paleface. The day at last arrived when we were to learn

something better from them" (56). This revised opening is a marked change from the fawning revised opening to chapter 1, in which Copway proclaimed: "I come, and at the feet of noble Britons [to] pay a humble homage, not to man, but to the greatest of the Palefaces" (1). Again, we see Copway living in the tension of contradiction but also framing the apex of his conversion story in a more secular manner. The reference to "fire-water," of course, served as a reminder that Copway was available for temperance lectures (and his accounts in *Running Sketches* suggest many Britons engaged his services for such talks) but the phrasing "something better" also suggested that while whiskey was a destructive force in many indigenous communities, religion provided them a practical way to attempt to engage with the English on equal terms.

In addition to the paragraph Copway added to the beginning of chapter 7 in the British edition, the epigraph he included for this chapter evoked more of a secular than a religious worldview.

> He patient showed us the wise course to steer,
> A candid censor, and a friend sincere;
> He taught us how to live; and (O! too high
> The price of knowledge) taught us how to die. (56)[107]

These lines are from Thomas Tickell's lengthy poem, "To the Earl of Warwick on the Death of Mr. Addison," and while they appeared under the heading "PRAYER-RELIGION-VIRTUE" in *A Dictionary of Poetical Quotations*, the poem is about honoring a deceased friend rather than about a conversion to Christianity or celebrating a life of faith. It seems what drew Copway to this particular quote were the lines "He taught us how to live; and (O! too high/The price of knowledge) taught us how to die." Reading these lines in conjunction with the opening lines of the chapter, "The day at last arrived when we were to learn something better from [the English],"

cast suspicion on the value of gaining European or EuroAmerican knowledge. Yes, Copway admitted, religion was "something better," but if alcoholism was the standard by which knowledge of a Christian life was measured, then the climax of Copway's conversion narrative opens with faint praise.

Copway's father's conversion to Christianity was indeed directly linked to alcohol, and Copway's retelling suggests that it was other Indians who provided salvation for his father, despite the influence of the English. Copway recounted accompanying his father to trade with the English for supplies, including whiskey. Upon their return home, the men in the Copways' community began drinking and were interrupted by Christian Indians who proceeded to share the Gospel message. In Copway's description, the Christian Indians not only shared the message orally, but also emphasized that this message was also told in book form: "Jesus has left a book containing his commands and sayings to all the world; *you will see it, and hear it read,* when you go to Cobourg, for the black coats have it" (58). The narrative continues with a recounting of how, late in the day, Copway, his father, and others traveled a far distance to hear the message in Cobourg where, after several days, Copway's father converted to Christianity. There is no denying that Copway views his father's (and later, his own) conversion to Christianity as a positive event in his life. He writes: "This was one of the happiest seasons I ever witnessed" (61). And yet, one might argue the happiness stemmed largely from the fact that a young man's father had latched onto "something better" than whiskey: sobriety.

Copway's own conversion, recounted in the following chapters, changed dramatically from *Life* to *Recollections* but, unlike many of the revisions he made between editions, the British version of his conversion is rendered in less romantic imagery. Copway made substantial changes in terms of the text's organization of chapters: chapter 7, which contains the conversion

story of Copway's father and chapter 8, which contains the conversion of his mother in the U.S. edition are combined into one chapter (chapter 7) of the British edition. This allowed Copway to begin chapter 8 with his own conversion story to which he added in the British edition: "Here comes the sunshine of my life. The first ray of light flashed in my soul, and, strange as it may appear, it remained" (66). The flash of light evokes one of the most dramatic conversion stories in the Christian New Testament Bible: Saul, the zealous persecutor of Christians, was knocked off his donkey by a blinding flash of light and then heard the voice of Jesus who commanded Saul to follow him. Saul then became Paul and is believed to be the author of a substantial portion of the New Testament.[108] In the context of Copway's British text, the "ray of light" could also reference Copway's experience of becoming enlightened. If we compare the two versions of Copway's conversion account, we notice that the British version is much more subdued than the original U.S. account. Consider this excerpt from Copway's original account:

> I was so agitated and alarmed that I knew not which way to turn in order to get relief. I was like a wounded bird, fluttering for its life. Presently and suddenly, I saw in my mind, something approaching; it was like a small but brilliant torch; it appeared to pass through the leaves of the trees. My poor body became so enfeebled that I fell; my heart trembled. The small brilliant light came near to me, and fell upon my head, and then ran all over and through me, just as if water had been copiously poured out upon me. I knew not how long I had lain after my fall; but when I recovered, my head was in a puddle of water, in a small ditch. I arose; and O! how happy I was! I felt as light as a feather. I clapped my hands, and exclaimed in English, "Glory to Jesus." (101-102)

The British version reads:

> I was so agitated and alarmed that I knew not which way to turn in order to get relief, and while kneeling down with the rest I found relief, as though a stream had been let loose from the skies to my heart. Joy succeeded this knowledge, and, were I to live long, I never can forget the feelings with which I rose and spoke the following first English words—"Glory to Jesus." (67-68)

In addition to being truncated, the British version was scrubbed of the mystical elements which accompany the original version. Gone is the mysterious animated ball of light that falls "copiously," knocking him stunned into a pool of water. This ecstatic imagery is replaced with a more subdued conversion account. While the U.S. account seems more aligned with the choices Copway made in evoking British Romantic poets in the opening chapter of his British edition, the pared down version of his conversion experience makes sense in light of my argument about how Copway frames a conversion to Christianity as "something better" than what indigenous people have received from the English in the past. The first conversion experience he describes appears to fundamentally change the speaker inside and out, while the second experience is more like a gift he received, something to add to his Indianness, like books and the ability to speak an additional language (English).

Running Commentaries

The revisions Copway made to transform his *Life* into *Recollections* for a British audience were influenced by his travels throughout Europe in 1850, which he documented in great detail in *Running Sketches.* *Running Sketches* was published in the United States in 1851; however, neither A & C Black Publishing, the Gilpins, nor any other publisher outside of the United States chose to publish *Running Sketches*. This may be due to the volume of press related to Copway's European travels which, as has been oft noted (sometimes with disdain),

Copway incorporated into the narrative of *Running Sketches.* Presumably, Copway included these reprints for a variety of reasons—to bolster his reputation as a speaker on the lecture circuit, to provide evidence of his effectiveness as an activist, etc.—however, Copway used news reprints as a way to control his own public image, and to encourage his audience to consider the value of living in the tension of contradictions.

Before analyzing Copway's image in the press abroad, it is helpful for a point of comparison to consider how he was viewed in the United States. Domestic newspaper accounts regarding Copway illustrate not only the diversity of his activities but also the widespread interest he garnered during the 1840s and 1850s. References to Copway or Kahgegagahbowh in print are almost always marked: the/an "Indian Chief" (*Pittsfield Sun* 1850, *Gazette* 1850, *Times-Picayune* 1857), "of the Ojibway Nation" or "the educated Chippewa Chieftain" (*Farmer's Cabinet* 1850), "the celebrated Ojibway Chief" (*Daily Globe* 1857), or "the Chippewa Indian" (*Daily Democratic State Journal* 1855). The markers are brief, serving only as reminders that "George Copway" is an indigenous person with little other biographical information, which speaks to the notoriety Copway had achieved by the mid-1800s. His activities were interesting enough to be reported beyond the Northeastern United States: a lecture on "Indian Courtship" was covered in the *Weekly Houston Telegraph* (1849), his political activities on "the stump in Kentucky" were of interest in Sacramento, California (*Daily Democratic State Journal* 1855), and his 1857 *Hiawatha* tour was documented for readers in San Francisco (*Daily Globe*). The editors of the *Times-Picayune* recorded a brief notice that captured both the notoriety of Copway, the breadth of his political interests, and his seemingly endless motion: "George Copway, the Indian Chief, who recently went to Nicaragua to 'settle,' has, since recent events, concluded to settle in Minnesota" (1857). The most telling accounts of Copway's celebrity are evidenced in

two newspaper accounts, as significant in their naming of Kahgegagahbowh as they are in the people who are not named. Notice of Copway's return trip from his European travels aboard the ship, the *Africa*, appeared in the *Pittsfield Sun* ("Arrival of the Africa" 1850), which reported that the ship carried eighty-six passengers, two of whom were named: one of them is, of course, George Copway. The following year, the *Pittsfield Sun* also reported on the "Corporation Dinner to Kossuth," a dinner attended by an estimated three hundred people—Kahgegagahbowh is one of five attendees identified by name (1851).

While most of the excerpts quoted above are examples of positive press Copway received, a comparison of ways the press, in both England and the United States, printed Copway's speeches and the way Copway recorded them in *Running Sketches* is telling. In chapter 6: "The People—Town—Country," Copway writes, "On Thursday morning, among the papers that noticed my lecture was the *Mercury*" (58). He then gives the full account from the newspaper, which spans several pages of the book. The speech, "North American Indians," was delivered at the Mechanics' Institution, and the content of the speech covers a brief history of the devastation of disease and war reeked upon indigenous people by whites, the importance of the Christian faith to some indigenous people, the removal of indigenous people from their land, the ineffective educational methods employed by whites with indigenous people, and finally, "his plan for the concentration of the Indians" (61). The *Farmer's Cabinet* carried the story "as reported in the Liverpool papers" on 29 August 1850 but it is different than the version Copway later included in *Running Sketches.* The editors of *Farmer's Cabinet* claimed they were printing an "extract" and so, naturally, it was a truncated version of the original.

The account as it appears in *Running Sketches* reads:

> He sometimes trembled for the people of the United States, though he hoped never to have the same feeling as when he was on the war trail. The Indians occupied no half-way ground. When they professed to be Christians they would be found to be so—(Applause). (59)

The account as it appears in *Farmer's Cabinet* reads:

> He sometimes trembled for the American people for the wrongs they had inflicted upon his country; when the Indians were heathens they acted as such, but when they became Christians he hoped they would be so (Applause). ("A Plea for the Indian 1)

The seeds of what Copway said on that particular evening are present in both accounts, evidenced by how both passages begin with "he sometimes trembled." From there, however, two messages are delivered to readers. Copway does not suggest that non-Christian Indians are "heathens" as the editors of *Farmer's Cabinet* do, and the editors seem to twist the idea about Christian Indians. Copway does not "hope" Indians who become Christians will act like Christians but rather in his version of the talk, he claims there is no middle ground for Indians—*when* they become Christians (and the suggestion is that many, himself included, are), they act like Christians.

In terms of whites educating Indians, there is an equally significant difference between the *Farmer's Cabinet* account and what Copway recorded in *Running Sketches*. The *Farmer's* account tracks closely with Copway's account in terms of his criticism of methods whites used in educating indigenous people and the pernicious effects of alcohol on indigenous communities. About educating Indians in English, the *Running* account reads: "The Missionary endeavored to translate English works into Indian language, instead of teaching the Indian youth the English

language, and thus introduce them to the broad sea of intelligence" (60). *Farmer's* recounts this part of the speech as such: "Many of the ministers endeavored to teach the Indians by translating books into their language. Teach them English, and then they would be introduced to the best possible plan of communicating intelligence (Loud applause)" (1). Copway's belief that teaching indigenous people in English would open Indians to a "broad sea of intelligence," is very different from the *Farmer's* implication that the "best" type of intelligence is the one possessed by English speaking people. The *Farmer's* account suggests that there is only one acceptable form of intelligence—i.e. understanding the world as whites did. Copway, on the other hand, understood the advantages of being able to read and converse in English as a way of understanding multiple worldviews ("the broad sea").

The most significant change between the *Farmer's* article and Copway's account, however, is the elision of Copway's proposal for setting aside land for indigenous people in the Northwest United States. The *Farmer's* piece vaguely hints at Copway's plan when they contend: "only let the Indian have a home, and teach him as a man and he would feel and act like a man" (1). Copway's plan, that he includes in full in *Running Sketches*, covers three pages and is not short on specifics:

> the Indians of the northwest, consisting of about one hundred thousand souls, should be granted forever about 150 square miles of territory, between the falls of St. Anthony and the West of Winosotah, and . . . if he could get, say £2,500, which he expected to do during the coming Congress, in the month of December, he would return to Washington again . . . (61-63)

Even granting the editors of *Farmer's* the benefit of the doubt regarding the limited space available in each edition of a newspaper, the omission of the heart of Copway's speech

intentionally distorted Copway's image as an activist who provided (at least in his mind) practical solutions to pressing social issues. Of course, outlining a proposal for granting land to indigenous people would be controversial for many readers in the United States, which may also explain why the editors opted for a faint wish that Indians procure a home rather than presenting the specifics of Copway's concrete plans. The *Farmer's* article also employs an implied you in their brief summary of Copway's plan: "let the Indian have a home, and teach him as a man" (1). The people or entities doing the "letting" and the "teaching" presumably would be white, whereas the version of this speech Copway includes in *Running Sketches* proposes a clean break from the controlling forces of white men and women: "The Indian would then have a home, where he could till his land and impart instruction to his offspring; fearing no removal" (62). In the version Copway included in *Running Sketches*, Indian adults would be teaching their own children. Part of the work *Running Sketches* accomplished, then, was that it allowed Copway to control his message.

By including newspaper accounts about himself in *Running Sketches*, Copway exerted greater control over his message and image. One example of how Copway achieved this can be seen in the 1850 London *Times* article in which Copway included *The Times*'s assertion that Richard Cobden's Peace Congress speech was "the great card of the performance" (231). Throughout the chapters in which Copway described the proceedings of the Peace Congress, quotes from the London press, especially in regards to Cobden, are a constant factor (245, 248). Copway expressed dissatisfaction with his own lecture delivered at the Peace Congress, but shrewdly allows the London press to speak for him. After sharing a positive review of Cobden's performance, we encounter this:

> The remainder of Mr. Cobden's performance does not seem to have met with the same success, as his final point, nor is such consummation to be wondered at. A formidable rival sprung up in the person of an Ojibway Chief—who for the best portion of an hour indulged the audience with a rhapsody upon the impropriety of digging up the war hatchet—and taking a scalp from a fallen foe. (248-249)

Part of the wonder of *Running Sketches* is that Copway often spoke for himself or spoke as the narrator one would expect from travel literature and then, in moments like these, he allowed the words of others to speak for him.[109]

When Copway allowed the *Times* to evaluate his oratory, the reader is left to sort out whether the stereotypical images in the review—war hatchets and taking scalps—undercut the compliment that Copway is a "formidable rival" to a well-known and successful orator such as Cobden. The overall tenor of this article is one of mocking disregard for the entire idea of the Peace Congress and yet, later in the article, the writers mention Copway and Cobden in the same breath: "Mr. Cobden and the Ojibway are turning up a shallow furrow indeed" (251). Certainly this phrase is dismissive—not the review anyone committed to the Peace Congress would wish to read about their efforts— and anyone reading these words when they were first published in the *Times* would read them as such. However, when the phrase is transposed to Copway's narrative, it becomes something new; it is less about the success or failure of the endeavor itself, and more about the fact that Copway's worldview is being considered on the same merits as a white, established, respected English statesman.

Running Sketches: **Scotland and the Irving House**

Attending the 1850 Peace Conference in Germany served as the exigence for Copway's travels to Europe and, understandably, this event dominated the majority of *Running Sketches*.

Of all the places Copway traveled, however, he reserved his greatest praise for his visit to Scotland, which he described in two of the final three chapters at the end of the text (chapter 21 "First Visit to Scotland" and chapter 23 "Scotland"). Copway's experience of Scotland, especially Edinburgh, mirrors Irving's experiences. In his introduction to Irving's *Tour in Scotland, 1817,* Williams writes about Irving's travels through Edinburgh: "Then there is sightseeing, the sightseeing we have all done: the Castle, the house of Knox, the pause at the stairs of Holyrood. Here Irving falls into a deeply characteristic mood: he feels himself interfused with the romantic past" (13). The same can be said of Copway's meanderings through the city. In the chapter, "First Visit to Scotland," Copway writes: "There yonder palace where the Queen of Scots lived, 'Holyrood Palace,' and on that high hill is the Edinburgh Castle, in which King James was born" and, of course, homage is paid to Scott and Burns: "O what lovely sight it is to see in this wild scene monuments to the memory of Scott and Burns!" (295) After the rigors of the Peace Congress and the bustle of London, Copway eased into the mode of a tourist on holiday during his two visits to Scotland.

Copway, too, seemed to be "interfused with the romantic past" as he visited historic sites in Scotland but his descriptions of the emotional connections he made with the people he met are heightened as well. After spending part of a week in Edinburgh and part in Glasgow, he writes, "I might stay here all the rest of my days among a people who seem to be so full of kindness" (295), and "Long ago I read the history of these people, and particularly the Highlanders, and my predilections for this people before no doubt has had to with the present visit" (335). He describes the Scots as "a people who had won my best affections" (342). And, after nearly three hundred pages of text, Copway mentioned for the first time (albeit briefly) that he was accompanied by "my son and lady" (282). The only other reference to his wife and son in all of

Running Sketches comes when Copway returns a second time to Scotland when he writes about gifts bestowed upon him in addition to "other things for my wife and son" (342). His professed kinship with Scots and sudden bursts of familial affinity are perhaps explained by the nostalgia he expressed upon first seeing the Edinburgh castle:

> And now we are in Edinburgh! the great city of the Scotch people. This is that Castle which often I have heard about, and now recurs to me a scene which I saw some years ago in my native land. It was a group of Scotch people who had just settled near by my father's. Just then I began to hear them speak, and I heard the name Edinburgh, and Edinburgh castle so often that I could speak it, if I could nothing besides. (294)

Copway then recounts a memory from his youth of a woman weeping about the castle, asking Copway if he had ever seen it. Copway writes, "I love to see in any one a love of country, so much to weep at the mention of one's birthplace" (294). This scene not only evoked a pleasant memory for Copway, but his descriptions of the people and places he encountered while there also give the reader a glimpse of what a notion of "home" might have meant to Copway.

In a telling letter to *The New Englander* that Copway intended to send (but also included in his Scotland chapters), Copway suggests that he claims the United States (or at the very least, the entirety of North America) as his "native home." He writes: "[I] saw a glimpse of the Highlands of Scotland. I must say, with reference to the home of the noble-hearted Scotch, it is near like the grandeur of America. Ours is of course better" (*Running* 298). He is either conflating Canada and the United States or claiming only the United States since a reader of a New England magazine would understand "ours" to refer to the United States. Near the end of this same letter, he again expressed his love for Scotland and its people and laments "though it is

perilous for me to go to Scotland, on account of the kindness of people. I am going again in the course of two weeks, and after enjoying several more meetings, I hope to leave *for my native land*" (300). Near the end of *Running Sketches,* after laying out his itinerary for the remainder of his visit, which ends with him sailing back to America, Copway writes "Such are my appointments before I sail for my native land" (303). At this point in his life, Copway did not have definite plans to return to Canada either as a resident or as a visitor, and so it appears he viewed the United States as his "native land." Another possibility is that this ambiguity over what he considered to be his "native" soil was intentional, another example of his comfort living in a world of seeming contradictions.

Despite Copway's thoughts of home and his effusive descriptions of the people and landscape of Scotland, he was well aware of the opportunity to make important literary connections while in Edinburgh. Shortly after arriving in Edinburgh, Copway includes a cryptic line in the text: "Though I have letters of some importance, yet I cannot find it so convenient to be dependent altogether to great names as long as one can help himself" (294). Copway indeed presented himself throughout both *Running Sketches* and *Recollections* as a self-sufficient man, traversing physical and cultural boundaries with ease; yet, at the same time, he rarely passed on the opportunity to include the names of renowned women and men with whom he came into contact. The "letters of some importance" are most likely letters of introduction, and it is uncharacteristic for Copway not to mention to and from whom the letters are written since they would likely be names his reader would have recognized. Presumably, Copway had contact with Washington Irving prior to leaving the United States, as he writes upon his return that he spends at least three days "in the Irving House" (345). And, as demonstrated in the previous chapter,

there were few American writers in the mid-1800s with better literary connections in London and Edinburgh than Washington Irving.

By 1850, however, Francis Jeffrey, founder of *The Edinburgh Review,* Sir Walter Scott, and Irving's close friend and publisher, John Murray II, were all dead. Irving continued to maintain a relationship with John Murray III, whose interest in travel would have made him even more receptive than his father to Copway's work, given Murray III's interest in travel: "from 1829 until he took over the firm, all of Murray III's longer holidays were spent traveling and writing the *Handbooks*" ("John Murray" 209). The handbooks in question were a forerunner to the immensely popular Baedeker travel books. So pervasive were Murray III's travel books that, while traveling in Rome, Margaret Fuller complained about American tourists in a letter to Ralph Waldo Emerson: "'I have seen them standing three deep' in the Vatican . . . 'with Murray [guidebooks] sticking out of each pocket'" (Marshall 305). Copway was keeping notes for *Running Sketches* during the time he was traveling through London and Edinburgh and, given Murray III's interest in travel literature, along with Irving's relationship with both Copway and Murray III, it seems that among the "letters of some importance" Copway carried, one would have been from Washington Irving to John Murray III.

Throughout the 1850s, Irving did not hesitate to send letters of introduction with anyone who visited the house of Murray. The Murray Archives have three letters of introduction Irving wrote to Murray III from "This letter will be handed to you by . . ." "Rev Charles D. Cooper" (29 Jan 1851), "Thurlow Weed Esqr" (20 Nov. 1851) and "Mr Henry T. Tuckerman" (8 Dec 1852). As McClary writes, "As the 1850's moved along, Irving's correspondence with 50 Albemarle Street dwindled to isolated letters of introduction for visitors to London . . . one suspects that he wrote more letters than have been preserved in the Murray Archives, for Irving had a wide circle

of travel-minded friends" (202). However, the year 1850, of all years, in the lengthy Irving/Murray relationship may have been a somewhat contentious one. The only letters preserved in the Murray Archives in the year 1850 from Irving to Murray III deal with a lawsuit Murray III was involved in over copyright issues regarding Irving's work. Irving sent lengthy letters recounting his parents' nationality, and establishing when and where he wrote certain pieces published by the Murrays.[110] If indeed Irving did not write a letter for Copway for his 1850 travels, it could be that the lawsuit dominated all his correspondence with Murray publishing that year, and Irving felt it inappropriate to recommend visitors in the midst of the lawsuit. The possibility also exists that Copway did meet with Murray III, and neither party felt a publishing relationship was warranted. And, one final possibility is that Murray III was the one who introduced Copway to Adam Black, given that Black was, as previously mentioned, the publisher of *The Edinburgh Review* and would soon procure the copyright to Scott's work.

The question of Irving's influence on Copway's literary career is of interest because *Running Sketches*, when read in conjunction with Irving's *Sketch-Book,* further reveals the tension of contradictions in Copway's life and texts. I am not suggesting that the main inspiration for Copway's *Running Sketches* was Irving's *The Sketch*-Book; however, it is useful to examine how both texts functioned within the genre of travel literature. The title of Copway's work certainly contains echoes of Irving's with his use of the word "Sketches." While use of the word "Sketches" in one's title was fairly common, prior to the publication of Irving's *The Sketch Book* in 1819, use of the phrase "Sketch Book" was rare. Between 1819 and 1851, the title was quite popular: *Naval Sketch-Book* (1826) by William Nugent Glascock, *The Youth's Sketch Book* (1833), three volumes of *The Sketch Book of Fashion* (1833) by Catherine Grace F. Gore, *Fancy's Sketch Book* (1833) by Penina Moise, *The Portland Sketch Book* (1836) edited by Ann

S. Stephens, *The East India Sketch Book* (1836), *The Italian Sketch Book* (1837) by Henry T. Tuckerman, *The Irish Sketch-Book* (1845) by M. A. Titmarsh (William Makepeace Thackery), *The Trojan Sketch Book* (1846) edited by Abba A. Goddard, *The Russian Sketch-Book* (1848) by Ivan Golovine, *The American Biographical Sketch Book* (1848) by William Hunt (which, of course, includes a sketch of Irving), and *The Western Sketch-Book* (1850) by James Gallaher. The most obvious homage to Irving's use of "Sketches" came from a two-volume set called *Crayon Sketches* by William Cox (originally published as "an amateur"). This collection of essays begins with an open letter to Irving in which the text's editor, Theodore S. Fay, acknowledges Irving's inspiration: "In early boyhood the charms of literature first broke upon me through the productions of your pen" (Cox n.p.). Obviously, between 1819 and 1851, including the phrase "Sketch Book" or "Sketches" in the title of one's text proved to be a popular branding technique for the marketplace.

Many of these sketch books are similar to Irving's in that they are connected essays based on the writer's travels through a geographic location. In this regards, Copway's *Running Sketches* is indeed part of this literary tradition. However, the narrative voice of *Running Sketches* also bears a similarity to Irving's text. As mentioned in the previous chapter, many scholars have written about the multiple voices—Irving/Crayon/Knickerbocker— speaking to the reader from *The Sketch-Book*, and a similar effect is experienced in Copway's text. Copway's text is a mixture of first person accounts of his travels in the moment, newspaper accounts that present the reader with third person accounts of Copway's speeches and activities, and lengthy passages from other travelogues regarding the places Copway visited. The opening pages of Copway's *Running Sketches* also echo the opening essay of Irving's *The Sketch-Book.* In "Voyages," just as Irving writes on the day of his departure, "As I saw the last blue line of my

native land fade away like a cloud in the horizon" (15), so too does Copway grow wistful at the thought of leaving home: "I have thought that I loved my native land; but I realize it more to-day than ever; and all that is lovely in my native land is magnified" (11-12). Part of the angst both Irving and Copway experienced at the start of their transatlantic journeys was not only leaving their "native land" but also entering uncertain territory. Copway's assertion "I am a stranger in a strange land!" (xii) in his introductory notes to the reader and again "and now I am going to a country where the people will be strangers to me" (11) in the opening chapter, echoes Irving's own fears at the end of "The Voyage": "I stepped upon the land of my forefathers—but felt that I was a stranger in the land" (19). Copway's use of these tropes both linked his texts to established and wildly popular texts, and underscored the world of contradictions through which he traveled.

In addition to following certain conventions of travel narratives made popular in the United States by Irving and others, an examination of some of the source material Copway uses in both *Running Sketches* and *Life/Recollections* reveals the wealth of literature he and (presumably) Elizabeth had access to, consumed, and turned to their own purposes in service of Copway's texts. In addition to *A Dictionary of Poetical Quotations*, one example of Copway's use of source material connects Copway's work to Irving's in perhaps a serendipitous way. While recounting looking at the night sky from the ship taking him to Europe, Copway quotes stanzas from a hymn:

> Once on the raging seas I rode,
> The storm was loud, the night was dark;
> The ocean yawned, and rudely blowed
> The wind that tossed my foundering bark. (*Recollections* 5-6)

It may be coincidental that the reference to "foundering bark" echoes the end of Irving's 1820 version of "Philip of Pokanoket," which reads "[Philip] lived a wanderer and a fugitive in his native land, and went down, like a lonely bark foundering amid darkness and tempest . . ." (*The Sketch-Book* 264). Copway does not identify the source of the hymn, and he may have encountered it one of two ways. "The Star of Bethlehem" was published as a poem by the English poet Henry Kirke White (Chambers 202-203); however, it was also adapted into a hymn around 1835 by the blind American composer and music teacher Oliver Shaw (*Memorial* 39).

The sources Copway used in his creation of *Running Sketches* further reveal the breadth of the Copways' reading habits. For his visit to Newcastle, Copway relied on two sources from which he quoted extensively: one that he identifies in a footnote as "Howitt's Visits to Remarkable Places, 2nd Series" (290) refers to William Howitt's *Visits to Remarkable Places: Old Halls, Battle Fields, and Scenes Illustrative of Striking Passages in English History and Poetry*, published in 1840. The second source, which includes detailed descriptions of Newcastle's architecture, is only identified as written by "Miss Martineau" (291). A 9 May 1840 edition of *The Penny Magazine of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge* contains a series of unsigned articles on Newcastle Improvements. Harriet Martineau's name does appear elsewhere in the same edition in a short piece on "Importance of Registration" (*The Penny* 184). Here she is identified as the author of *How to Observe: Morals and Manners,* a book published in London and New York in 1838, which includes practical advice on all the things a traveler should attempt to understand, from architecture to religious beliefs, while they travel.[111]

Two additional sources which illustrate Copway's eclectic reading habits also link Copway's work to both Richard Cobden and Irving. The first appears among the many pages in *Running Sketches* dedicated to Cobden, in which Copway includes a lengthy, unattributed

passage, accompanied by an engraved portrait of Cobden (118-121). The original publication is most likely *Holden's Dollar Magazine,* published in 1850 in New York, which also included an unsigned piece with an accompanying engraving of Cobden (slightly different, however, from the one Copway includes). The opening article of this edition of *Holden's* is "Astoria," in which the unnamed writer reminds the reader that the exploits of John Jacob Astor and his party or "the wild and often amusing adventures of these pioneers of commerce, their hardships, trials, and success have all been faithfully recorded by Mr. Irving in his 'Astoria'" (v).

Copway used *The Knickerbocker Magazine* for one of his chapters related to Scotland. While Copway was near Paisley, he was shown "the birth-place of Wilson the state ornithologist of New York" (340). Copway writes: "It is related in his biography that he expressed a wish, when conversing upon the subject of death, that when he died, he might be buried where the birds should come and sing over his grave." This description appears nearly word-for-word in *The Knickerbocker Magazine* (1834) [112], a magazine that gave birth to the "Knickerbocker Writers," and one where Irving himself briefly worked as a contributor and editor. In the same issue of the magazine, we find the article, "The Letter Press to Our Portrait or Wherein Consists the True Glory of Washington Irving," in which the writer calls Irving, "the godfather of our magazine, and the morning-star of American literature" (135). Copway's use of *Holden's* and *The Knickerbocker Magazine* demonstrates that he used a wide variety of periodicals in compiling his text. Given that Copway did not often cite his sources, this may not always be obvious; however, the underlying texts from which he drew his information reveals an immersion in 1840s-1850s print culture on both sides of the Atlantic.

Copway's American Indian

Copway's final, major publishing project was his newspaper, *Copway's American Indian,* the pages of which contain a microcosm of Copway's life and interests, including: his proposal for setting aside land in the American northeast, articles on temperance, content in both English and indigenous languages, and reprints from English publications. At the paper's inception, support for the project seemed promising: the last several pages of each edition are full of advertisements and, more importantly, endorsements from the likes of Cooper, Schoolcraft, and Irving, whose letters of support Copway publishes on the front page of the first edition. Irving's letter reads:

> My Dear Sir:–Your undertaking of a weekly paper, devoted to the best interests of the North American Indians, and a thorough development of their history, traditions, habits, manners and customs, cannot but excite a deep interest in every liberal and intelligent mind. I shall be happy at any time, to contribute to your pages any facts or observations which may appear to me calculated to promote the end you have in view. With respect and esteem, your friend, Washington Irving. ("My Dear Sir" 1)

Irving made good on his promise to contribute content. In the 26 July 1851 edition, Copway reprinted an essay by Irving titled "The Graves of the Loved," a sentimental piece extolling the lessons one can learn from visiting graves, which originally appeared earlier in the year in *The National Temperance Magazine.* A second Irving piece appears in 30 August 1851, "Anecdotes of Sir Walter Scott," which originally appeared as a much longer essay in 1849 as "Abbottsford" in *The Crayon Miscellany*. The fact that Irving did not contribute any original material may suggest an underlying ambivalence towards Copway's project, or it may be indicative of the short period of time the newspaper was published. *Copway's American Indian* lasted for only

three months from 10 July 1851 to 27 September 1851 due, in part, to the fact that Copway, "simply did not have the business background to manage the finances of a newspaper" (D. Smith, *Mississauga* 200).

While the newspaper did not meet Copway's lofty ambitions and further exacerbated his financial struggles, it does encapsulate the tension of contractions in which Copway lived. In the initial edition, on 10 July 1851, Copway published a "Prospectus" in order to explain the purpose of the project. He falsely identifies himself (as he often did) as a "Chief of the Ojibway nation" but also as a "Christianized Indian" (1). He introduces himself with his Indian name, and acknowledges the seemingly double life he lived when he includes "better known to the white man as George Copway." The stated purpose of the paper is "subjects connected with the past and present history and condition of the people of his own race" (1). He suggests such a newspaper is a "novelty" and that it would be difficult for him to deliver on such a promise due to his "limited education." However, Copway asserts that he has had many assurances of help from whites to assist in his endeavor, help that he will certainly make use of, and he promises not to disappoint "those who are friendly to the unfortunate race of the red man" (1).

Finally, *Copway's American Indian* reminds us of the uncertainty Copway and other indigenous people faced while living in the tension of seeming contradictions. Copway was not alone, of course, in proposing plans to set aside land in North America for Indians. Even Irving "offered (in 1837) a similar, if somewhat less sunny, vision of a permanent Indian territory existing inviolate between the white settlements of the East and the Far West" in his book, *The Adventures of Captain Bonneville, U.S.A. in the Rocky Mountains of the Far West* (Maddox 181). Irving and many other whites benefitted financially from a multitude of texts, fiction and nonfiction, which contained a whole range of ideas related the history and culture of indigenous

people. However, when Copway spoke from his inside/outside point-of-view, it is difficult to resolve all of his contradictions. In an implicit plea for financial support for *Copway's American Indian*, Copway seems to answer Rufus Choate's call to preserve the history of the Indian before the Indian vanishes. Copway writes:

> That race is fast vanishing away: a few years more and its existence will be found only in the history of the past: may not an Indian, then, hope for countenance and support in a modest and unambitious effort to preserve, while yet he may, the still lingering memorials of his own people, once numerous and strong, and interesting alike to the Christian, the philanthropist, the philosopher, and the general reader? ("Prospectus" 1)

When whites, like Irving and others, monetized the vanishing Indian trope, it is easy to dismiss their works as misguided at best, racist, at worst; when Kahgegagahbowh makes a similar move, it becomes a contradiction more difficult to resolve.

CHAPTER IV

'THIS IS MY OWN, MY NATIVE LAND':

JESSE EWING GLASGOW'S BLACK JOHN BROWN NARRATIVE IN SCOTLAND

In 1860, Jesse Ewing Glasgow, Jr. (J. Ewing Glasgow), a twenty-three-year-old African American expatriate studying in Scotland, wrote a forty-seven page pamphlet regarding John Brown's October 1859 raid on Harpers Ferry that was published simultaneously in Edinburgh, Glasgow, and London.[113] By December of 1860, before his studies at Edinburgh were complete, Glasgow died of pulmonary consumption, leaving behind a scant biographical record and a unique John Brown narrative titled: *The Harper's Ferry Insurrection: Being an Account of the Late Outbreak in Virginia, and the Trial and Execution of, Captain John Brown, Its Hero*. In the opening lines of his introduction to his recounting of John Brown's life, his attack on Harpers Ferry, trial, and execution, Glasgow quotes from Sir Walter Scott's *The Lay of the Last Minstrel*: "Breathes there a man with soul so dead, / Who never to himself hath said— / This is my own, my native land" (3). Evoking Scott seemingly answers Rufus Choate's call for American writers to "undertake in earnest to illustrate [American] history . . . 'in prose or rhyme,' like the Waverly novels, the Lay of the Last Minstrel, and the Lady of the Lake" (319). However, in addition to Walter Scott, J. Ewing Glasgow employed the words of other writers, revolutionaries, and politicians from Scotland and Ireland—Thomas Campbell, Robert Emmet and Edmund Burke—in order to craft his John Brown narrative. By associating John Brown, and himself, with heroic figures not from the United States, J. Ewing Glasgow suggested that opposing chattel slavery was more than a concern for Americans; opposing chattel slavery was (or should have been) a universal concern.

J. Ewing Glasgow's John Brown narrative is also unique among accounts that appeared in the immediate aftermath of the Harpers Ferry raid in that Glasgow briefly recounted his own experiences, specifically as a person of color, as they related to the raid.[114] *The Harper's Ferry Insurrection* is reminiscent of the opening pages of both Washington Irving's *The Sketch Book of Geoffrey Crayon, Gent.* and George Copway's *Running Sketches of Men and Places, in England, France, Germany, Belgium, and Scotland* in that all three texts present the author traveling between the United States and the United Kingdom by ship, contemplating their "native land." Copway and Irving were both traveling east, uncertain about departing from their beloved homes. As his "native land fade[s] away like a cloud," Irving contends that the United States "contained all most dear to me in life" (*The Sketch-Book* 15). Copway comes to the realization that he loves his "native land" "more to-day than ever; and all that is lovely in [his] native land is magnified" now that he has set sail for Europe (*Running Sketches* 11-12). Glasgow, on the other hand, unlike Irving and Copway, was moving from east to west, returning to the United States, presumably on break from his studies in Edinburgh, and when he quotes Scott: "This is my own, my native land," it is to declare to his reader that he is unsure whether or not he is welcome in his "native land" due to the color of his skin, which "in America was a misfortune punishable as a crime" (3). J. Ewing Glasgow suggests, then, from the outset of his John Brown narrative that his own future hinges of the consequences of Brown's raid on Harpers Ferry. If the raid leads to the abolition of slavery in the United States then Glasgow will feel a sense of community within his "native land"; if, on the other hand, nothing changes for free and enslaved blacks in the United States, then he will remain an expatriate in his new community in Scotland.

J. Ewing Glasgow is a compelling figure because he was a relatively unknown member of a black transnational community, and his text expanded both this community and the John

Brown saga beyond the borders of the United States. Glasgow's connections to the black Philadelphia community, specifically the Institute for Colored Youth and the Banneker Literary Institute, which were transnational and often militant in their worldview, shaped the young man who wrote a John Brown narrative.[115] Glasgow, however, traversed paths established by prominent African Americans who found respite from oppression as students, lecturers, or visitors in Scotland and Ireland. In *The Harper's Ferry Insurrection,* Glasgow located himself as a fellow traveler on these paths by portraying himself as an educated person (much like Copway, Irving, and William Wells Brown), well-versed in Scottish and Irish history and literature (to the seeming exclusion of all other traditions). In doing so, he created a connection between himself, his "native" and adopted homelands, and John Brown. Glasgow created an imaginative John Brown narrative by associating Brown's words and actions with people who struggled against hegemonic English powers, dislocating Brown from American soil and attaching him to a Scottish/Irish revolutionary spirit. And finally, Glasgow's narrative is significant because it contributed to the voices that argued for blacks' willingness to fight against slavery and disenfranchisement, a risky proposition for nineteenth-century people of color due to the American metanarrative that venerated rebellion that occurred in the past but sought to suppress violent opposition to hegemonic structures in the present.

In this chapter, I examine how J. Ewing Glasgow's extant biography reveals how he was connected to a larger transnational black community, which informed his John Brown narrative. However, since details of Glasgow's life are scant, I use the biography and works of other nineteenth-century, black travelers to provide context for what Glasgow may have experienced while studying abroad. In 1837, the year Glasgow was born, James McCune Smith returned home to New York from studying in Scotland, where he earned three degrees from the

University of Glasgow (Stauffer 15). Information regarding the university system and abolitionist movements in nineteen-century Scotland also help to explain why African American men like Smith and Glasgow were able to receive an education not possible in their "native lands." William Wells Brown's travels in Europe and the publication of his *Three Years in Europe: Or, Places I Have Seen and People I Have Met* (1852) illustrates how black people were received and were able to procure publishers in Scotland during the 1850s.[116] And finally, other speeches and essays created by African Americans who venerate John Brown—William Wells Brown, Frederick Douglass, and others—serve as points of comparison to Glasgow's bold and immediate endorsement of John Brown's raid on Harpers Ferry.

Black Communities at Home and Abroad

J. Ewing Glasgow's extant biography is comprised of what John Ernest would describe as "fragments of history," but out of these fragments emerge the picture of a young man shaped by an African American community committed to education and activism (6). He was "most likely" born in Philadelphia "sometime around" 1837 ("Jesse Ewing Glasgow, Jr." n.p.). Glasgow grew up in a community surrounded by "radical free Africans," who had formed organizations such as "The African Methodist Episcopal churches and Prince Hall lodges of Philadelphia" which "were historically and institutionally linked, and both were militant and dedicated participants in the Underground Railroad" (Geffert 591-92). J. Ewing Glasgow's father, Jesse E. Glasgow, Sr., "a whitewasher by trade," was also "active in the African American community" ("Jesse Ewing Glasgow, Jr." n.p.). Jesse Glasgow, Sr.'s name appeared (as Jesse E. Glasgow), along with sixty other signees, on the broadside Frederick Douglass created in 1863 to encourage black men to enlist in the American Civil War. "Men of Color to Arms!" was, in historian David Blight's words, "a manifesto of martial spirit and manliness"

(393).[117] No other immediate family members are mentioned in the brief biographical sketches which exist about the younger Glasgow; however, in *Reminiscences of School Life, and Hints on Teaching*, Fanny Jackson Coppin contends that Glasgow "came of Quaker City stock and was a blood relative of the eminent Henry Highland Garnet" (157). The vagueness of the phrase "blood relative," and lack of other sources linking Glasgow to Garnet, makes Coppin's claim difficult to corroborate but, given the black abolitionist circles within which Garnet traveled, it is certain the Glasgow family and Garnet knew one another. In 1850, Garnet, described as a "black militant" (D. Reynolds 403) and a "black radical" (Stauffer 15), traveled to the British Isles for a lecture tour, where he remained for over two years and "in 1852 became the United Presbyterian Church of Scotland's first black missionary to Jamaica" (Sinha 373).[118] While in the UK, he may have established connections that precipitated Glasgow's studies at the University of Edinburgh. While little is known of J. Ewing Glasgow's childhood home, it is evident he was surrounded by people eager to actively end the enslavement of blacks in the United States.

Details surrounding J. Ewing Glasgow's formal and informal education also demonstrate how militant abolitionism shaped his worldview and his John Brown narrative. Glasgow was the first graduate of the Institute for Colored Youth ("History" n.p.), a Philadelphia school founded by Quakers that was "one of Africa America's most prestigious schools" (Martin 304). The Institute for Colored Youth would have exposed Glasgow to a diverse worldview even before he traveled abroad. The faculty included "an important Caribbean element, with roots in Haiti and the British West Indies. These included Professor Charles L Reason of the Institute for Colored Youth; [and] Robert Campbell, head of the Scientific Department of the same school" (Martin 304).[119] The influence of these intellectuals clearly shaped the young Glasgow, as evidenced by a story often recounted by the school's principal, Ebenezer Bassett. One day, Glasgow was

called to the blackboard to solve complex math problems for the benefit of a Southerner who had "written a book to prove that the Negro was not a man" (Coppin 21). According to Bassett, Glasgow performed so well that the book was never published. Bassett was also directly linked to John Brown after the Harpers Ferry raid. A letter from Bassett to Brown was found on Brown at the time of his arrest, and Bassett's name, along with the Institute's address ("718 Lombard Street, Philadelphia"), was included in a Brown diary entry under the heading, "Men to Call for Assistance" (Biddle 239-240).[120] Bassett's activism continued after the American Civil War began, as his name appears, along with Jesse E. Glasgow, Sr.'s, on Douglass's aforementioned broadside "Men of Color to Arms!" The early years of J. Ewing Glasgow's education, then, were overseen by African Americans who actively participated in efforts (including ones which endorsed violent means) to abolish slavery.

In addition to the influences of family and school, Glasgow was involved in community organizations that also would have contributed to his worldview. He was listed as a "corresponding member" of the Banneker Literary Institute, "a debating society and community resource of massive importance in the mid-nineteenth century" (Gardner 180). The Banneker, like the Institute for Colored Youth, was transnational in its worldview: in 1854, the group hosted a series of lectures, which included William Wells Brown, "recently back from an extended sojourn in Europe," who delivered a lecture on Mohammed and Confucius" (Martin 309). The Banneker also hosted, as did many groups of blacks and whites on both sides of the Atlantic, Emancipation in the British West Indies celebrations. These First of August events provided, as Martha Schoolman explains, "a particularly complex example of the geospatial politics of festive culture" (70). In *Rites of August First,* J.R. Kerr-Ritchie traces how these events progressed from "festivals" in the 1830s to more politicized events in the 1850s. As a

result of the continued spread of slavery westward, passage of the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850, and "the obvious failure of moral persuasion," Kerr-Ritchie argues that "African Americans began to pursue a militant public politics of the street" (8-9). The Institute for Colored Youth and the Banneker Institute exposed Glasgow to the importance of activism in both one's local and one's global communities.

While Glasgow died before the end of 1860, his influence continued in periodicals published in the United States and Scotland in the early 1860s. An article published in the *Weekly Anglo-African* recounts that Glasgow contributed a poem that was read during the Banneker Literary Institute's November 1860 meeting. The poetry reading followed an address on the state of slavery at home and abroad and included a reference to John Brown that was met with "tremendous applause" ("Mr. Editor: Pursuant to Announcement" n.p.). While Glasgow's poem is not included in the newspaper article, it was read by a classmate of Glasgow's from the Institute for Colored Youth, Octavius Catto, whose name would also appear on Douglass's "Men of Color to Arms!" broadside. In January 1861, *The Christian Recorder* published two pieces related to J. Ewing Glasgow; the first is a resolution announcing Glasgow's death ("Banneker Institute"), and the second, that appeared later in the year, is an unsigned letter extolling Glasgow. *The Christian Recorder* editors memorialized Glasgow as "one of dark Afric hue, capable of making strides in learning that excited the envy of his white-skinned fellows; and yet not puffed up by his knowledge" ("J. Ewing Glasgow" n.p.). Glasgow's death was also noted in the American Colonization Society's *African Repository*, which indicates that he "graduated with honor at the Lombard street Colored High School in Philadelphia, and had nearly completed a five year course in the Edinburgh University" ("Death" 124). Glasgow had achieved a certain level of renown during his time in Edinburgh, given that *The African Repository* quoted from

Glasgow's death notice that first appeared in *The Caledonian Mercury*, a tri-weekly Edinburgh newspaper. *The Caledonian Mercury* memorialized Glasgow as "a young man [who was] of great promise and good talents and amiable manners and studious habits, and was greatly esteemed by all who knew him" (124). This community of black, militant activists, along with Glasgow's formal education, prepared the young man in his early twenties who was over three thousand miles from home, to respond with a cogent, public response to John Brown's raid on Harpers Ferry.

The Black Experience Abroad

William Wells Brown traveled to the British Isles under much different circumstances than did Glasgow, but his travels provide a helpful lens through which to consider the black, American experience in Scotland during the years just prior to Glasgow's arrival. Brown escaped from slavery in Kentucky in 1834, and went on to distinguish himself as an "abolitionist, physician, reformer, and author," traveling through Europe for several years as a lecturer (J. Smith xv). During this time, he wrote about his experiences, which were published in *Three Years in Europe: Or, Places I Have Seen and People I Have Met* (1852). His travels in Scotland mirror both Irving's and Copway's experiences in regards to the romantic light in which they described the renowned places they visited. Stanley T. Williams's description of Irving's trip to Scotland could apply to all three travelers: "Then there is sightseeing, the sightseeing we have all done: the Castle, the house of Knox, the pause at the stairs of Holyrood" (13). All three men's travelogues are also often "interfused with the romantic past" (13). After visiting Edinburgh castle, Knox's home, and the palace at Holyrood, Brown claims that Edinburgh was "the most picturesque" of all the places he had traveled since arriving in "the father-land" (164). And, like Copway, Brown is struck by the friendliness of the Scottish people: "the cheerfulness

depicted in the countenances of the people here, and their free and easy appearance, is very striking to a stranger" (165). These characteristics of William Wells Brown's *Three Years in Europe* have caused some to describe his work as "fugitive tourism," and Brown himself as performing "the conventional practices of nineteenth-century aesthetic tourism" (Baraw 453). However, while he often presented himself as a tourist, Brown's activities and observations while traveling illustrate the stark differences between the black experience in nineteenth-century America and nineteenth-century Britain.

For a black American in the early nineteenth century, whether a fugitive, such as Brown, or a freeborn person, such as Glasgow, who claimed the color of his skin "in America was a misfortune punishable as a crime" (3), the experience of traveling throughout the British Isles was always more than the experience of the tourist because the threat of being captured and (re)enslaved was absent. Through this lens, then, Brown's romanticizing on the Edinburgh landscape seems less like a sentimental longing for some forgotten past and more about the promise of inhabiting spaces that offered a more promising life. Consider Brown's description of approaching Edinburgh via boat:

> The night was a glorious one. The sky was without a speck; and the clear, piercing air had a brilliancy I have seldom seen. The moon was in its zenith—the steamer and surrounding objects were beautiful in the extreme . . . On returning to the deck again, I found we had entered the Forth, and that 'Modern Athens' was in sight; and, far above every other object, with its turrets almost lost in the clouds, could be seen Edinburgh Castle. (*Three Years* 307-309)

As Walter Johnson explains in *River of Dark Dreams,* Brown knew waterways "better than most" because, in addition to serving as "a Mississippi River slave trader's enslaved assistant,"

Brown, like many other people who escaped slavery, used a waterway as a path to freedom (145). After being "sold to a steamboat captain in New Orleans, [Brown] rode with the man as far as Louisville, and when the boat made a landing on the Ohio side of the river," Brown made his escape (145-46). Approaching Edinburgh by night may have evoked in Brown memories of passing by cities in the United States that promised (and ultimately delivered) a new beginning. The "night" Brown described may have been "glorious" from a meteorological point of view but it was also glorious for Brown because he was moving across geographical and nautical boundaries at will. The sight of Edinburgh may have also struck Glasgow with the hope that the new land he traveled to in order to study would offer more opportunity than the "native land" he had left behind, where he was considered a criminal due to skin tone.

Glasgow's *The Harper's Ferry Insurrection* is by no means a travelogue; however, the frame of the narrative, its preface, introduction and final chapters, provided Glasgow with an opportunity to take imaginative journeys that brought him closer to the action of Brown's raid, trial, and execution. Glasgow asserts in his introduction that, "after an absence of three years," he returned to the United States in the fall of 1859. He offers no reason for his return but suggests it coincides precisely with the events he is set to narrate:

> Little did I think on entering America, that such exciting times were near, when the south was to quake with fear on account of a handful of men; little did I think that ere I would leave it again, there would be placed on its escutcheon one other foul blot, in causing to be executed one whose only fault was on virtue's side, who will ever live in the eyes of many as a martyr and hero. (8)

While Glasgow's return to the United States, in the midst of his studies in Edinburgh, is certainly plausible, the economic feasibility of such a trip, coinciding with a time period in which

university courses are typically in session, makes a physical journey unlikely. Details regarding J. Ewing Glasgow's financial situation are sparse but we do know he attended the University of Edinburgh on scholarship (Biddle 184) and that additional tuition and travel expenses were paid by school officials from the Institute ("Jesse" n.p.). We also know that by December 1860, when he fell ill and died, he was at the University of Edinburgh. A fictive transatlantic journey to "bear witness" to events seems more likely than a scenario in which Glasgow traveled to the United States just before the raid on Harpers Ferry in October 1859, returned to Edinburgh in time to write his John Brown narrative, and have it in print by February 1860. Whether or not Glasgow made a return trip to the United States, however, is less important than his decision to present himself to his readers as one who has the freedom to travel back and forth across the Atlantic at will.

Many other black Americans had made an impression on the inhabitants of British Isles by the time Glasgow initially arrived in Edinburgh to begin his studies in 1856. Brown's *Three Years in Europe* provides a detailed picture of what life was like for African Americans who traveled at will across the Atlantic Ocean and throughout European countries. *Three Years in Europe* opens with an essay by William Farmer titled, "Memoir of William Wells Brown," a history of Brown's life that is truncated because, according to Farmer: "A NARRATIVE of the life of the author of the present work has been most extensively circulated in England and America" (ix). Farmer also contends that "the publication of [Brown's] adventures as a slave, and as a fugitive from slavery in his native land, has been most valuable in sustaining a sound anti-slavery spirit in Great Britain" (xv). Farmer extolled Brown's lectures on "the question of American Slavery, Temperance, and other subjects" (xxv) that he delivered while traveling through Europe. As part of his European travels, Brown served as a representative at the Peace

Congress in 1849 in Paris, as Copway would do a year later in Germany. Brown, like Copway, also received a warm welcome at the Peace Congress: "His brief address, upon that 'war spirit of America which holds in bondage three million of his brethren,' produced a profound sensation" (Farmer xxiii).[121] Beyond the Peace Congress, however, Farmer offers high praise of the effectiveness of Brown's antislavery message throughout the British Isles: "Perhaps no coloured individual, not excepting that extraordinary man, Frederick Douglass, has done more good in disseminating anti-slavery principles in England, Scotland, and Ireland" (xxv). Reception of Brown's antislavery message (as well as Douglass's) suggests that, by the time Glasgow published his John Brown narrative, texts that advocated ending slavery in North America would have been welcome among certain readers in the British Isles.

By the time J. Ewing Glasgow traveled to Scotland, he would have found established communities that both welcomed African Americans and supported a transatlantic antislavery movement. In *The Black Abolitionist Papers*, Blassingame reminds readers that "American free blacks were regularly denied access to higher education in the United States," which caused "Robert M. Johnson, Jesse Ewing Glasgow, James McCune Smith, and other free blacks [to travel] to Britain for further schooling. Once there, they were drawn into the British antislavery movement" (65). In addition to the aforementioned, Robert M. Johnson, at least one other student of color is known to have studied concurrently with Glasgow at the University of Edinburgh. James Africanus Beale Horton, born in the British colony of Sierra Leone, studied medicine at the University of Edinburgh from 1858-59, and went on to become a medical doctor, an officer of the British army in West Africa and a writer with "several books on political and medical subjects" (Fyfe ix).[122] Exact numbers of African Americans who studied at Scotland's

universities in the nineteenth century are difficult to determine; however, it is evident that people of color from within and beyond the United States were welcome.

While the educational institutions of Scotland may have been open to people of color, the Scots' relationship to slavery, like many nineteenth-century Europeans' relationship to slavery, was complicated. Recent efforts by historians have brought to light Scotland's "forgotten role in the slave trade," most notably, Bunce Island where "in the 18th and 19th century, tens of thousands of Africans . . . were held captive . . . in appalling conditions by Scottish slavers, before being shipped across the sea to plantations in the Caribbean and the Americas" ("How Slavery" n.p.). Eighteenth-century Scotland "developed a heavy economic commitment to slavery at the very time when its intelligentsia were vehemently criticizing it" (Rice 19). By the nineteenth century, some Scots were emboldened to support antislavery causes by emancipation in the British West Indies. As early as 1824, an unsigned article in *The Edinburgh Review*, after praising America's religious freedom, economy, and school systems, ends with this prescient warning:

> But then comes the great disgrace and danger of America—the existence of slavery, which, if not timeously corrected will one day entail (and ought to entail) a bloody servile war upon the Americans—which will separate America in to slave states and states disclaiming slavery, and which remains at present as the foulest blot in the moral character of that people. (442)

Thirty-five years later, as John Brown "*sparked* the [Civil] war to a degree that no other American did" (D. Reynolds ix), J. Ewing Glasgow was ready to recount a violent response to the institution of slavery for a British audience.

Dissension within antislavery movements in both Britain and the United States allowed many Scots the opportunity to express independent thinking on the matter. Opposing slavery for many Scots was a way "to express their distrust of centralization in the metropolis, to assist them in their endless church vendettas, and to help fuel their distrust of those richer or poorer than themselves" (Rice 29). Scots also formed their own antislavery organizations, and "foremost among" them "were the emancipation societies of Glasgow and Edinburgh, which dominated activities in Scotland up to the [American] Civil War" (16). These societies also welcomed integrated membership, evidenced by the fact that James McCune Smith was a member of the Glasgow Emancipation Society while a medical student (46). Brown found more than membership in antislavery organizations in Scotland; he found a modicum of influence over causes taken up by at least one organization. Upon discovering that no emancipation societies in the United Kingdom were committed to improving the plight of fugitive slaves like himself, he proposed the matter be taken up in Glasgow. In the introduction to *Three Years in Europe*, Farmer recounts that:

> A public meeting, attended by between 3000 and 4000 persons, was convened by Mr. Brown, on the 6th of January, 1851, in the City Hall, Glasgow, . . . at which meeting a resolution was unanimously passed approving of Mr. Brown's scheme, which scheme, however, never received that amount of support which would have enabled him to bring it into practice; and the plan at present only remains as an evidence of its author's ingenuity and desire for the elevation of his depressed race. (xxviii-xxiv)

Brown's response to having his resolution supported but not ultimately acted upon is not recorded. However, in 1851, while traveling in Europe, Brown wrote a letter printed in

Frederick Douglass' Paper with the headline "Don't Come to England." Brown's main complaint was that, while many people in England welcomed fugitives, there was little opportunities for employment (Schoolman 111). Equality among members of an emancipation society and access to education was much greater in the United Kingdom than in the United States; however, this did not mean that African Americans found the United Kingdom to be a place of unlimited opportunity.

Unlike Glasgow and James McCune Smith, Brown did not travel to Scotland as a free person to attend a university. That said, *Three Years* provides several examples of how education in England and Scotland benefitted black Americans during the nineteenth century. Accompanying Brown on his European travels were his two daughters, and later, William and Ellen Craft who, like Brown, were fugitive slaves who sought refuge in Europe. The Crafts were admitted "to Lady Byron's School at Oakham, Surry" and Brown's two daughters, after joining him, were "receiving an education which [would] qualify them hereafter to become teachers in their turn—a description of education which would have been denied them in their native land" (Farmer xxv-xxvi). Brown provided a powerful description of how education broke down racial barriers in his account of visiting the University of Edinburgh. The passage is lengthy but bears recounting in full because it gives readers a rare glimpse of how people of color were treated at the University in the nineteenth century.

> I had an opportunity during my stay in the city, of visiting the Infirmary, and was pleased to see among the two or three hundred students, three coloured young men, seated upon the same benches with those of a fairer complexion, and yet there appeared no feeling on the part of the whites towards their coloured associates, except of companionship and respect. One of the cardinal truths, both

> of religion and freedom, is the equality and brotherhood of man. In the sight of God and all just institutions, the whites can claim no precedence or privilege, on account of their being white; and if coloured men are not treated as they should be in the educational institutions in America, it is a pleasure to know that all distinction ceases by crossing the broad Atlantic. I had scarcely left the lecture room of the Institute and reached the street, when I met a large number of the students on their way to the college, and here again were seen coloured men arm in arm with whites. The proud American who finds himself in the splendid streets of Edinburgh, and witnesses such scenes as these, can but behold in them the degradation of his own country, whose laws would make slaves of these same young men, should they appear in the streets of Charleston or New Orleans. (309-311)

Glasgow would not arrive at the University of Edinburgh until several years later, but Brown's description indicates that there was a great likelihood that Glasgow did not experience a level of racial discrimination while in Scotland that he would have experienced among whites in the United States.

The details surrounding J. Ewing Glasgow's death also indicate that he would have been treated in much the same way as non-black students at the University of Edinburgh. One of the unique features of the University of Edinburgh was that, unlike universities in England, it did not require residency on campus, which meant "Scottish students remained part of general society, living in ordinary homes" (Bell 167). Being "part of general society" also meant that, when Glasgow fell ill, he received medical attention as any other university student would. Glasgow's death certificate was issued in the District of Newington in the City of Edinburgh; however his

final resting place is no longer known.[123] We do know that he died at "No. 10 Hill Place Edinburgh," which was once part of the Surgeons Quarters of the Royal College of Surgeons of Edinburgh, a teaching medical college, which dates to the sixteenth century.[124] The cause of Glasgow's death, "pulmonary consumption," was certified by "John Brown, MD." This is significant because Dr. John Brown graduated from the University of Edinburgh, was a member of the Royal College of Physicians of Edinburgh, a well-known essayist, and he practiced medicine in Edinburgh until his death in 1882. That an esteemed member of the Edinburgh medical community was attending to Glasgow at the time of his death suggests that, in life and death, Glasgow did not suffer the racial discrimination in Edinburgh that he would have endured in the United States.

The House of Myles MacPhail, Thomas Murray & Son, and Simpkin, Marshall, & Co.

An examination of the publishing houses who brought Glasgow's monograph to the reading public indicates that *The Harper's Ferry Insurrection* enjoyed at least a modest circulation throughout the British Isles. The title page of J. Ewing Glasgow's text reads: "Edinburgh: Myles Macphail, 11 St. David Street," "Glasgow: Thomas Murray & Son," and "London: Simpkin, Marshall, & Co." I initially located the digital surrogate of this text in the *Black Studies Center* database, and was able to examine an original copy of *The Harper's Ferry Insurrection* in the National Library of Scotland's archives in 2018.[125] According to World Cat, thirteen original copies of the book with the Edinburgh, Glasgow, and London imprint are located in libraries in the United States, and six copies are available throughout the United Kingdom. The text must have enjoyed some level of circulation during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries because Oswald Garrison Villard's 1910 *John Brown 1800-1859: A Biography* includes Glasgow's *The Harper's Ferry Insurrection* in his bibliography—"Books,

pamphlets and documents related particularly to the Harper's Ferry raid" (698). Philip S. Foner, in *History of Black Americans,* credits Glasgow as the one "who published the first work of the Harpers Ferry Insurrection," and he quotes from *The Harper's Ferry Insurrection* in order to introduce the section on "Brown in Kansas" (243-244). Foner quotes Glasgow a second time in this section, suggesting that "Glasgow voiced the opinion of all black Americans when he wrote" about "the ruffians of Missouri," who committed voting fraud in the Kansas territory and incited violence (245). While Glasgow's text received a modicum of recognition as an important text among John Brown narratives, it less clear how a young college student procured his publishers. However, a closer look at the publishing houses of Myles Macphail, Thomas Murray & Son, and Simpkin, Marshall & Co. provide evidence of ways Copway's text circulated throughout the region.

Simpkin, Marshall & Co., J. Ewing Glasgow's London publisher, was ostensibly the largest of the publishers listed for *The Harper's Ferry Insurrection*. It is the only publishing house, of the three, that merits mention in James Raven's *The Business of Books: Booksellers and the English Book Trade 1450-1850.* Raven contends that William Simpkin and Co. was the most successful of London wholesalers in forging relationships with writers and publishers from smaller towns around the British Isles (331). An advertisement in the bimonthly, *The Publishers' Circular and General Record of British and Foreign Literature* for 1860, indicates that Simpkin, Marshall & Co. felt Glasgow's text was worth advertising. *The Publishers' Circular*'s subtitle, while ambitious, also suggests Glasgow's text was worthy of mention: "*Containing a Complete Alphabetical List of All New Works Published in Great Britain and Every Work of Interest Published Abroad*" (1). On 15 February 1860, J. Ewing Glasgow's text was listed under "New Works" which were published from 1 February 1860 to 14 February 1860

(*Publishers'* 94). Given that this was roughly four months after Brown's raid, it indicates that J. Ewing Glasgow's text was written, compiled, and published in a short period of time, much like other Brown narratives that were brought quickly to press. *The Publishers' Circular* listing includes J. Ewing Glasgow's name, the full title of the text, Glasgow's place of residence (Edinburgh), number of pages (48), that it is sewn, and that it costs one shilling. The advertisement also lists only "Simpkin" as the publisher (*Publishers'* 94).

A survey of other texts attributed to Simpkin on the same page as the 1860 *The Publishers' Circular* advertisement for Glasgow's text reveals the eclectic and prolific production of this publishing house. Between the first and fourteenth of February 1860, in addition to an edition of Homer's *Iliad* and an English translation of Faust's *Tragedy* by Goethe, Simpkin also released three educational texts, a "History of the Preston Strikes and Lock-outs" and "The Church Catechism Explained" (*Publishers'* 94). Further perusal of the 1860 *Publishers' Circular* also indicates that the circular itself attracted more renowned publishing houses such as John Murray publishing of Albemarle Street, which had over thirty texts listed. Adam and Charles Black of Edinburgh also advertised over a dozen texts, including the eighth edition of their lucrative *Encyclopaedia Britannica,* published in conjunction with Simpkin, Marshall & Co. in London (*Publishers'* 60). That Simpkin, Marshall & Co. was a prolific publisher, conducted business with one of the most successful publishers in the nineteenth century (Adam and Charles Black), and invested advertising dollars in Glasgow's text, suggests that *The Harper's Ferry Insurrection* would have garnered some attention in the marketplace.

The second publisher listed on the title page of *The Harper's Ferry Insurrection*, Thomas Murray & Son, also advertised new releases in the1860 edition of *The Publishers' Circular.* While located in the much smaller city of Glasgow, Scotland, and less productive than Simpkin's

publishing house in London, Thomas Murray & Son were no less eclectic in their publishing tastes. In the 2 July 1860 edition of *The Publishers' Circular*, Thomas Murray & Son had an entire column dedicated to their new releases: thirteen new texts that ranged in subject matter from rifle usage and the "Poems of the Days of King Arthur," to information on the inventor of the "screw propeller" (*Publishers'* 324). In the same month, we also find this advertisement from Thomas Murray & Son: "TOURISTS in SCOTLAND will find in MURRAY'S TIME TABLES the Conveyance and Hotel Arrangements, Highland Coaches, Steamers, &c., extensively advertised; with a mass of Route and Topographic Information offered to the Public in no other Work of the class. Published monthly" (*The Publishers'* 330). While I have discovered no information to indicate that Thomas Murray was closely related to the Murrays of John Murray publishing, this advertisement indicates that Thomas Murray & Son were perhaps shrewd marketers of their works.[126] As discussed in the previous chapter, John Murray III spent his holidays traveling and writing travel books ("John Murray" 209) that became so popular that Margaret Fuller, while in Rome, complained about the books' ubiquity in a letter to Emerson (Marshall 305). Perhaps Thomas Murray & Son, by printing and advertising "Murray's Time Tables," were attempting to capitalize on the name recognition (or confusion) of the most popular publishing house in London.

If Glasgow met any of his publishers, he most likely met Myles Macphail, given that both resided in Edinburgh when *The Harper's Ferry Insurrection* was published. In addition to his work as a publisher of periodicals, Macphail was also "an occasional writer of poetry" ("Myles Macphail" 298). An excerpt of his poem, "Burns' Vision of the Future," was published, along with a brief biographical sketch, in *Modern Scottish Poets* (1883).[127] Before emigrating to Australia in 1864, Macphail was a prodigious publisher of monographs and pamphlets in

Edinburgh. In addition to being "a bookseller in Edinburgh," Macphail was "the publisher of a monthly ecclesiastical magazine bearing his name, which the Disruption in the Church of Scotland called into existence, and which, with considerable ability, took the side of the Establishment" ("Myles Macphail" 298). *Macphail's Magazine* was started with his brother, William, and both men had a keen interest in publishing religious texts in addition to their monthly magazine.[128] The Macphail brothers, in conjunction with Simpkin and Marshall, published a collection of eighteen sermons in 1845 titled *The Church of Scotland Pulpit,* which address a variety of doctrinal issues.[129] However the "Catalogue of Books" published by Macphail, which is found in the appendix of *The Church of Scotland Pulpit*, indicates the wide range of topics which interested the Macphail brothers: a book on anatomy and pathology, books on dissections, and books on crustaceans, dozens of pamphlets related to church issues, a book on society's responsibility to the poor, catechisms, geography, books for parochial schoolteachers, and books for teaching Latin.

That Myles Macphail's catalogue was overwhelmingly focused on religious texts indicates that many readers who first encountered Glasgow's *The Harper's Ferry Insurrection* may have expected to find content meant to nourish their souls. Glasgow certainly emphasized the righteousness of Brown in the opening pages, informing readers that Brown's "character was irreproachable, for wherever he lived he soon acquired the reputation of a man of the sternest integrity, and his word was considered as good as his bond" (9). The phrasing Glasgow used to introduce Brown tracks closely with De Witt's *The Life, Trial and Execution of Captain John Brown*, yet even as he chose to elide information from De Witt's account, he maintained all references to Brown's religiosity. "No man of unprincipled or doubtful character was admitted into [Brown's] social circle," Glasgow writes, "and he had a fine religious temperament" (9).

Like De Witt, Thoreau, and others, Glasgow also repeats the contention that John Brown was "a Puritan in the Cromwellian sense of the word."[130] Depending on one's view regarding the use of violence to combat injustices such as chattel slavery, a recounting of John Brown's attack on Harpers Ferry may have indeed read like a righteous text for many nineteenth-century readers.

Glasgow, like Copway, may not have personally met his publishers in the British Isles. And certainly, neither Glasgow nor Copway, enjoyed the privileged relationship with their publishers that Irving did. Irving, as recounted in chapter 1, knew John Murray II well, and became one of his favorites along with the likes of Sir Walter Scott and Thomas Campbell, who also became close associates. However, reviewing *The Harper's Ferry Insurrection* within the context of other books Myles Macphail, Thomas Murray & Son, and Simpkin, Marshall, & Co. published, sheds light on why these publishers may have been attracted to a young man of color, writing about an American figure who had ostensibly risked his life fighting against injustice, especially injustice that was predicated on race.

"The Transformative Power of Geographic Shifts"

The risk involved in being associated with John Brown, especially after Harpers Ferry, was high for both African American and white communities because, for most Americans, John Brown presented a new type of violence. Brown challenged what Slotkin calls the "Frontier Myth," the idea that "under the pressure of the slavery issue . . . myths and heroic types that in the past had represented the solidarity of Americans in their militant march toward progress were now associated with outlawry, piracy, and a perverse tendency to direct violence against the republic itself" (243). Many of the "Secret Six," prominent white, New England men who lent Brown financial support were implicated after the raid, and although none were ultimately charged with any crimes, they were questioned by a Senate committee in 1860 (D. Reynolds

340-342 and 429-430). While Thomas Wentworth Higginson maintained his public support of Brown, three of the Secret Six members fled the country for a period of time, and Gerrit Smith suffered a mental breakdown.[131]

Monographs and essays written in the immediate aftermath of Brown's raid that enjoyed wide distribution were, however, predominately written by whites. In the final months of 1859, and early months of 1860, Henry David Thoreau penned at least four essays about Brown: "A Plea for Captain John Brown," "The Last Days of John Brown," "After the Death of John Brown," and "The Martyrdom of John Brown." The most well-known monograph, *The Public Life of Capt. John Brown,* was published in Boston in 1860 by James Redpath, who spent his early years in Scotland and then Michigan before becoming "the Kansas correspondent for the *New-York Tribune*" (D. Reynolds 183). In addition to spending time with Brown and his followers in Kansas, Redpath was "Brown's first major biographer and an avid promoter of the John Brown legend" (183). He also edited *Echoes of Harper's Ferry* in 1860, which included Thoreau's "A Plea for Captain John Brown."[132] Not long after Redpath's *The Public Life* appeared in print, Robert M. De Witt published *The Life, Trial and Execution of Captain John Brown, Known as "Old Brown of Ossawatomie," with a Full Account of the Attempted Insurrection at Harper's Ferry,* which is "a compilation of newspaper stories rushed into print to capitalize on the excitement produced by the Harper's Ferry raid and its aftermath" (Brodhead 1).[133]

A John Brown narrative published by an African American in the immediate aftermath of the raid was rare, which makes Glasgow's *The Harper's Ferry Insurrection* stand out amongst nineteenth century monographs related to Brown. "Conventional histories of the raid" diminished the contributions made by black men at Harpers Ferry because of the racist belief

"that accounts by black men or abolitionists could not be trusted" (Geffert 605). Members of the black community within the United States feared that African Americans' involvement at Harpers Ferry would be erased from the historical record, a fear that was voiced in several newspapers published in the aftermath. One of the most compelling accounts is found in the *Weekly Anglo-African* in which the editor called out Henry Ward Beecher for a sermon he delivered that elided mention of the black men present at Harpers Ferry. Even though Beecher was active in the U.S. abolitionist movement, being antislavery, of course, did not always equate with a concern for African Americans' perspective on issues. The *Anglo-African's* editor reminded readers that "it was the five black men armed to the teeth, and the hundred thousand black men in their midst armed with a quarrel just, who caused the Virginians to tremble and shudder" ("John Brown, the Martyr" n.p.). While the editor is respectful of Beecher's contributions to the antislavery movement, he charges Beecher with "sorry meanness" for ignoring John Brown's "black companions," and urges the newspaper's readers to remember the blacks who fought beside Brown. Denying people of African descent's desire or ability to fight, of course, served a twofold purpose for many antebellum whites: it reinforced the stereotype of the "submissive black," and it attempted to quell whites' fears of the emergence of another Toussaint L'Ouverture or Nat Turner.

A second example of the concern that blacks were being ignored in accounts of the raid also appeared in the *Weekly Anglo-African*, and came from Osborne Anderson, an African American who accompanied John Brown to Harpers Ferry, and one of a small group who escaped when the fighting began.[134] Anderson made his way to Canada, and eventually delivered a scathing speech in 1860 about blacks' involvement in the raid, which was reprinted in the form of a letter to the newspaper. In addition to informing his audience that he was

present during the raid, Anderson blamed Virginia's governor and "his confederates of the slaveholding States" of propagating the lie that slaves "refused to join in the insurrection" ("Letter from Toronto" n.p.). Anderson then claimed that the first casualty of the raid "*was a slave of that very neighborhood*," and while this characterization correctly suggests the man was black, Shephard Hayward was actually a free man who worked for the railroad (and was a victim, rather than a participant, of the raid). Whether Anderson knew the details of Hayward's life or not, this "slave of the neighborhood," along with Anderson's physical presence, served his purpose of arguing that blacks were indeed willing to fight for their freedom.[135] The speaker who followed Anderson at the event in Toronto, John Stokes, (whose speech was also recounted in the letter) quoted from a report in the London *Times* "which says that the African race is not fit for liberty." Stokes also alluded to unknown facts about the raid that "when recorded, will throw the falsehood back from whence it came, and prove to the world that the Anglo-Africans have done more to free and elevate themselves than the Anglo-Saxons give them credit for" ("Letter from Toronto" n.p.).

Douglass, the most prominent African American associated with Brown, responded with equal parts denial and full-fledged support, depending on where and when he was speaking or writing about Brown in the months immediately following the raid. Douglass left the United States for Canada shortly after the Harpers Ferry raid and, by mid-November, 1859, was headed for Liverpool. Douglass wrote an editorial for his *Douglass's Monthly* in November, arguing that Brown was mentally stable; however, he elided any mention of a personal relationship with Brown ("Capt. John Brown Not Insane" 374-375). A year later, Douglass delivered a speech in Boston commemorating Brown on the anniversary of his execution. While he again made no mention of his personal relationship with Brown, Douglass's rhetoric was markedly more violent

on this occasion; he suggested "the only way to make the Fugitive Slave Law a dead letter is to make a few dead slave-catchers" ("Speech on John Brown" 421). Sarah Parker Remond also shared the stage with Douglass in England on at least one occasion as reported in the 16 February 1860 edition of *Frederick Douglass' Paper* ("Great Anti-Slavery Meeting in Wakefield"). Remond spoke briefly about John Brown, asserting that "he had only done for the slave what he would have the slave do for him" but she rejected Brown's methods in favor of "moral suasion" (1). These examples, of course, serve only as a sampling of African American's responses to the raid but they highlight a legitimate concern many blacks had that their contributions to Brown's campaign would be (and often were) ignored.

Four years after the Emancipation Proclamation of 1863, which rendered chattel slavery illegal in the United States, and two years after the cessation of the American Civil War's violence, William Wells Brown wrote *The Negro in the American Revolution: His Heroism and His Fidelity* (1867), a recounting of the history of blacks' contributions to fighting against injustice in the United States. Among Brown's essays is his own, three page, John Brown narrative titled "The John Brown Raid." While William Wells Brown does not reference Glasgow's text, he did add another black voice to the retelling of the significance of the raid on Harpers Ferry. Brown deferred to the aforementioned work of James Redpath, a white man, for specific details regarding the raid: "John Brown's trial, heroism, and execution, an excellent history of which has been given to the public by Mr. James Redpath, saves me from making any lengthened statement here" (*Negro* 26). However, in addition to saving Brown the trouble of a lengthy recounting, by eliding details of the raid, he was able to focus on the contributions blacks made to the raid itself in ways that Glasgow and others did not.

"The John Brown Raid" begins with a lionization of John Brown: "the noble old man" who acted with "a solemn sense of duty" but the remainder of the essay is focused on blacks' contribution to the Harpers Ferry raid (25). William Wells Brown recounts the trip that John Brown and some of his followers took in April 1858 to Chatham, Canada. David S. Reynolds describes the Chatham convention as unique in North American gatherings to that point in history, in that it was "organized by a white man, attended largely by blacks, and designed to raise a black army to trigger an African American revolution that would wipe out slavery" (262). Brown anticipates Reynolds's emphasis that the convention was "attended largely by blacks" when he writes the gathering included "no white men but the organized band already mentioned," referring to the white friends and family members who had accompanied Brown to Kansas years before (*Negro* 25). Brown describes the "Provisional Constitution" which was drawn up and adopted at this meeting in Chatham:

> Its manifest purpose was to insure a perfect organization of all who should join the expedition, whether free men or insurgent slaves, and to hold them under such strict control as to restrain them from every act of wanton or vindictive violence, all waste or needless destruction of life or property, all indignity or unnecessary severity to prisoners, and all immoral practices; in short, to keep the meditated movement free from every possibly avoidable evil ordinarily incident to the armed uprising of a long-oppressed and degraded people. (25)

William Wells Brown was writing long after most of the facts had been recounted about the failed raid, the violence enacted upon John Brown and his party, as well as, the violence enacted by John Brown upon the residents of Harpers Ferry. However, William Wells Brown takes this opportunity to illustrate to the reader that the black men who supported John Brown's raid,

adopted the provisional constitution, and ultimately accompanied Brown to Harpers Ferry, were intent on restraint, guided by a moral code, and not inclined to violence.

William Wells Brown's reframing of the John Brown narrative also highlights the contributions of blacks present at Harpers Ferry in ways that Glasgow's narrative does not. The second half of Brown's essay focuses solely on two black men who were part of the raid: Shields Green and John A. Copeland, the only two black men present at the raid who were captured. William Wells Brown reprints Copeland's letter, dated 10 December 1859, written before Copeland was executed. Copeland's letter expresses no remorse for fighting against the injustice of slavery, and no fear of death; instead, he links himself to George Washington and reminds his readers that the American Revolution was fought "not for the white man alone, but for both black and white" (27). About Shields, Brown writes that he faced death without fear, "expressing to the last his eternal hatred to human bondage, prophesying that slavery would soon come to a bloody end" (28). William Wells Brown's John Brown narrative, brief as it, serves as another black lens through which to view the raid on Harpers Ferry and, by focusing on blacks' contribution to the raid rather than recounting the life and exploits of John Brown, William Wells Brown creates a text which champions blacks' role in American history more so than does Glasgow's *The Harper's Ferry Insurrection.* That said, the risk of associating oneself with John Brown in 1867 when William Wells Brown's narrative was published were less dangerous than in 1859 when Glasgow made the decision to write and publish his John Brown narrative.

Glasgow's *The Harper's Ferry Insurrection* stands not only as a John Brown narrative published by a black writer in the days following the raid on Harper's Ferry, it also contains evidence that Glasgow remained in contact with, and felt a need to protect, members of the black community within the United States. Glasgow truncated a lengthy confession of John Cook, a

white man who accompanied John Brown to Harpers Ferry. Cook's confession appeared in multiple accounts published after the raid, and Glasgow quotes heavily from these sources. However, Glasgow made the choice to delete Cook's contention that "it was the intention of the party to go to Ashtabula County, Ohio" (De Witt 107). Ashtabula County was the site Brown selected as early as 1857 for a military-style training camp for his recruits that never materialized.[136] Glasgow again elided a reference to Ashtabula when recounting exchanges between John Brown and his captors, which was also published in multiple periodicals after the raid (23). When Brown was questioned about time he spent in Cleveland, he gave a brief account of places he had traveled and, in other published accounts of this exchange, Brown concluded with the line: "I was part of the time in Ashtabula County," (De Witt 46; Redpath 280), a line Glasgow elides. While the significance of the "Ashtabula omission" is speculative, it does suggest that Glasgow may have been intimately linked to those who needed protection in the months following Brown's raid and, at the very least, that Glasgow's account was no mere parroting of reports that appeared in a predominantly white press.

Glasgow also attempted to reshape portions of the often chaotic, published accounts of the Harpers Ferry raid in order to clarify and highlight blacks' role in the event. He drew from a larger range of sources than Redpath and De Witt for his second chapter "The Alarm and Despatches [*sic*] about the Harper's Ferry Insurrection." Here, unlike De Witt's *The Life*, Glasgow presented a timeline of events as described in various dispatches with the explicit goal of recreating the chaos and misinformation disseminated during the raid. Unlike *The Life*, which included a patchwork of accounts with no editorial commentary or attribution, Glasgow shaped the narrative. He framed his timeline with an implicit critique of mass media, beginning the chapter with "Not in the history of the telegraph in America did it carry such startling news as on

Monday, Oct, 1859" (12). His mention of the telegraph signaled two things: one was an implicit critique of how modern technology and the nation's hunger for news could, not only disseminate news quickly, but often incorrectly; and two, it was a reminder to his audience that the news of Harpers Ferry has spread to the diaspora, that black Americans not only received the message but had also processed it, and assigned it meaning. Finally, Glasgow's mention of the telegraph suggests an eagerness to demonstrate the central dilemma Nwankwo ascribes to "people of African descent" in the nineteenth century: "whether to define themselves as citizens of the world, specifically the Black world that included revolutionaries" (6-7). Glasgow, with his publication of *The Harper's Ferry Insurrection*, indicated that he had made his decision: he was a citizen of a black world who would endorse violence when necessary.

A Transnational View of Brown

Glasgow's *The Harper's Ferry Insurrection* was another voice speaking against racist notions that blacks would not physically or verbally fight against injustices African Americans, both enslaved and free, suffered in the United States. Glasgow's biography not only places him geographically (and mentally) within black abolitionists' communities but also his expatriate status and narrative choices make his text a transnational John Brown narrative. In many respects, Glasgow was also a "black cosmopolitan" figure as defined by Nwankwo: nineteenth-century black women or men who "imagine or reject a connection with people of African descent in other sites or with the world at large" (13). Part of what bound these communities together, Nwankwo argues, is the "knowledge and memory" of the physical and psychological violence of chattel slavery. Glasgow was never enslaved, and his ability to study abroad suggests he enjoyed a high level of privilege compared to other nineteenth-century, black youths. However, as the author of *The Harper's Ferry Insurrection,* Glasgow was one in whom "that

violence may remain unacknowledged" (13). Glasgow extolled the man (John Brown) and endorsed violence as one of several means for abolishing slavery. In the preface to his text, Glasgow writes that his exigence for writing is so that those who are curious to know the details of Brown's life and death "may be incited to do something towards securing the coloured man's freedom and manhood in America—if not in the way Brown attempted to do so," then by contributing money to anti-slavery societies (6). Since financial support was the only suggestion Glasgow offered, one might argue that Glasgow eschewed violence as a viable option in the cause. Yet, there is a certain ambivalence in Glasgow's phrasing—i.e. he hopes the reader will do something, and if it is not an attempt to incite an insurrection, then the second best option is donating funds. Glasgow's version of the John Brown saga was informed by the violence that both begat and accompanied Brown's raid, and yet Glasgow's text sought to expand antislavery conversations beyond national boundaries and black communities.

Glasgow's *The Harper's Ferry Insurrection* is a rare nineteenth-century text by a writer of color that contains neither paratexts written by whites attesting to the author's abilities nor apologies for his writing skills or autobiographical voice. Glasgow's preface, introduction, and concluding remarks were all self-authored, and so his text lacks what John Sekora calls the "white envelope" (502)—prefaces and letters written by whites that accompanied most nineteenth-century, black American texts which attested to the writer's "personal integrity and the veracity of his or her account" (Sweeney 21-22). The Irish editions of Douglass's *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass* are good examples of ways writers of color worked against their "black message" being "sealed within a white envelope" (Sekora 502) because they "differ significantly in form and geopolitical orientation from the U.S. publication." This is due, primarily, to Douglass's inclusion of a self-authored preface that preceded William Lloyd

Garrison's preface and Wendell Phillips's letter (Sweeney 14).[137] While William Wells Brown's *Three Years in Europe* did not have a white envelope, *per se*, he does take an apologetic stance in his preface, as many women and people of color before him did. Brown explains why he is publishing a collection of letters that first appeared in Douglass's *North Star*, hoping British readers will appreciate "the first production of a Fugitive Slave, as a history of travels" and asserting that he was "not blind to the fact, that [his letters] must contain many errors; and to those who shall find fault with them on that account, it may not be too much . . . to ask them kindly to remember, that the author was a slave in one of the Southern States of America" (*Three Years* xxi-xxii). Copway makes a similar apology in his "A Word to the Reader" at the beginning of *Recollections of a Forest Life*, when he writes: "It would be presumptuous in one, who has but recently been brought out of a wild and savage state, and who has since received but three years' schooling, to undertake, without any assistance, to publish to the world a work of any kind. It is but a few years since I began to speak the English language" (xi). These apologetic stances serve as a stark contrast to the way Glasgow opened his publication—not only was his text not wrapped in a white envelope, he made no apologies for his humble beginnings. This alone lends his text a confident air and places the onerous for the perceived negative impressions of people of color, squarely on whites in the United States who deemed having dark skin a crime.

Much as Copway made use of existing texts to compile *Running Sketches*, Glasgow drew upon fragmented newspaper accounts of John Brown that appeared in the months immediately following the Harpers Ferry raid to create his own text that he informs his readers is "derived from a careful consideration of the newspaper accounts and conversations with some of the parties connected with the affair" (6). Glasgow's labors to synthesize "newspaper accounts and

conversations" place him in a similar vein as William Wells Brown and others who, according to Ernest, "worked to gather the materials that would demonstrate African American achievement, promote African American collective self-definition, and establish people of African origins as historical agents throughout history and in the United States" (333). Nowhere in Glasgow's text does he identify "the parties connected with the affair" by name, and the only newspaper source he cites is *The New York Tribune,* which he uses only late in the text to recount a first-hand account of Brown's hanging (43). The source was certainly Redpath, as many of Glasgow's direct quotes are identical to passages found in Redpath's *The Public Life of Capt. John Brown.*

Much of Glasgow's content maps onto De Witt's hastily compiled *The Life, Trial and Execution of Captain John Brown*; however, Glasgow's account is a much more carefully curated production. Glasgow's chapter titles indicate the dramatic progression of the Brown narrative while De Witt's compilation is often disjointed and bears the marks of multiple authors. De Witt's text begins with biographical information on John Brown and his time in Kansas, and then introduces a section titled, "Facts and Rumors Concerning John Brown," before returning to additional details regarding Brown's life. De Witt includes a section on "other insurgents" who accompanied Brown to Harpers Ferry before offering a detailed account of the raid itself (thirty pages in to his text). Conversely, Glasgow, while writing a shorter account (about a third as long as De Witt's), follows a more logical narrative structure: he begins with a brief biographical sketch of John Brown, elaborates on Brown's campaign in Kansas, and then leads readers through the Harpers Ferry raid, Brown's imprisonment, trial, death, and funeral. Glasgow also signals that he is serving as an editor as he moves through the material at hand. In his chapter, "The Capture of Cook and his Companion," Glasgow writes of Cook's confessions: "we will only give it in part, as a great deal of it is a repetition of facts already stated, and a confession of

things uninteresting to the general reader" (27). While the claim about the reader's interest level in Cook's confession is debatable, the important thing to consider is that Glasgow was not simply attempting to capitalize on a salacious public event, rushing a text to print, but rather he was thinking about the focus and readability of the narrative itself. These characteristics serve to distinguish *The Harper's Ferry Insurrection* from other John Brown narratives published in the immediate aftermath of the raid, and make Glasgow's work more than a mere parroting of other published accounts.

In addition to the editorial changes referenced above, Glasgow also elided portions of De Witt's text that suggested blacks' involvement in struggles to end enslavement in other times and places had been minimal and ineffective. De Witt's text includes four and a half pages that appear under the heading "Notices of Negro Insurrections," which contain news reports and summaries of Nat Turner's 1831 rebellion, and the "Negro Insurrection of 1856" (99-100). This so-called insurrection covered several Southern States and was predicated on rumors of insurrection rather than actual uprisings as the writers of the article admit: "after all it turned out that the white population of the southern States were more frightened than hurt by the servile insurrection of 1856" (De Witt 100).[138] Nevertheless, numerous enslaved blacks were beaten and murdered as a result of the rumored insurrection. The writers of these pieces distinguish the Harpers Ferry raid from previous insurrections in that in "all former movements of the kind the discontented blacks were the prime movers, and almost always the sole actors therein, [while] this one has been not only got up, but carried through by white men" (100). The "Notices of Negro Insurrections" also suggest that there was no evidence that blacks from Virginia or Maryland participated in Harpers Ferry, allowing that some "free negroes from Iowa" did but "few or none from slave States." And, most significantly: "Those who appeared to act with the

insurgents were pressed into service" which "shows that the movement was not got up in the interest or with the connivance of the slaves, but was purely a political one" (De Witt 100). That Glasgow made no references to these reports was a form of resistance and solidarity. He aligned himself with others in the black community attempting to reinstate themselves into a narrative largely controlled by whites. Glasgow also was a young black man who envisioned himself as a "prime mover," and the moves he makes within his narrative indicate that, while he was connected to a transnational black community that stretched from Philadelphia to Scotland, he imagined a nation where a man could live unfettered from the oppression of nineteenth century views on race.

Additional deviations Glasgow made from the published texts he used, are often minor but the changes allowed him to further assert an autonomous narrative point-of-view. For example, Glasgow directly quoted nearly four paragraphs from De Witt's biography of John Brown from *The Life* but then summarized the remainder in order to argue that Brown and his family suffered immensely at the hands of the "Missouri Border Ruffians" (11). Then Glasgow returned briefly to a phrase found in *The Life* that reads: "Shortly after the *Marais des Cygnes* massacre, Brown conceived the idea of carrying the war into Africa" (13). [139] Glasgow writes "No wonder, then, that Brown conceived the project of carrying the war into Africa" (11). The addition of "no wonder" signals one of many moments in Glasgow's narrative where he ceased to be an objective reporter of others' accounts, and instead employed his own analytical reading of Brown's life and actions. What De Witt presents as a chronology of events that John Brown was involved in, Glasgow refashions as a cause and effect: John Brown became more aggressive in his plans to end slavery as a direct result of atrocities committed by Southern whites.

What separates Glasgow's text from other nineteenth-century John Brown narratives most, however, is Glasgow's repeated allusions to Scottish and Irish writers and historical figures. Glasgow made the complicated move in *The Harper's Ferry Insurrection* of inscribing his own personal narrative onto the John Brown saga, and locating Brown's revolutionary spirit in the tradition of Scottish and Irish nationalism (rather than the United States). At crucial points in his narrative, Glasgow alludes to prominent historical figures: the Scots, Sir Walter Scott and Thomas Campbell, and the Irish, Robert Emmet and Edmund Burke. That a young man whose last name was Glasgow, studying at the University of Edinburgh, would quote from Scottish and Irish poets and political figures seems natural but Glasgow's choice to link Brown's narrative *exclusively* to these men suggests that he identifies more with his adopted region than his "native land." One could argue that Glasgow's allusions would resonate most with an Edinburgh reading audience where the narrative was published, yet his continued correspondence with the black community in Philadelphia suggests he was also mindful of a transatlantic audience.

The curriculum taught while Glasgow was studying at the University of Edinburgh undoubtedly influenced his reliance on incorporating Scots and Irish literary figures into his John Brown narrative. The chair of Rhetoric and Belles Lettres, during Glasgow's time at the university, was Edward Edmonstone Aytoun, who Winifred Bryan Horner writes is largely responsible for "the study of English literature as a legitimate academic subject" (Horner 366). In *Scottish and Irish Romanticism,* Murray Pittock argues the "Scottish Invention of English Literature" can be traced back even further to 1762 when Hugh Blair "was probably the first holder of a chair in what can be called English Literature anywhere in the world," which enabled the "imaginative space to survive" (71). In addition to Glasgow's immersion in imaginative literature, he may also have been able to recall the many allusions he made throughout his text

due to a common practice during the nineteenth century in Scottish Universities in which instructors often delivered their lectures slowly and methodically in order for students, especially those who could not afford textbooks, to copy the lecture down word for word (Homer 366).

Locating the specific texts Glasgow used while studying literature at the University of Edinburgh has proved difficult; however, the allusions he uses in *The Harper's Ferry Insurrection* indicate the types of texts he had at his disposal. Given nineteenth-century university's propensity towards the works of white males, a textbook titled *Principles of Elocution* may very well have been included in Glasgow's required readings. This text contains works by Sir Walter Scott and Thomas Campbell, two of the poets Glasgow references in *The Harper's Ferry Insurrection.* Scott and Campbell's work, of course, would be found in countless nineteenth-century anthologies; however, several other elements of *Principles of Elocution* provide potential links to J. Ewing Glasgow. The 1857 edition of the text was published in conjunction with Oliver & Boyd of Edinburgh and the aforementioned Simpkin, Marshall, & Co., the London publisher of *The Harper's Ferry Insurrection*. This "thoroughly revised and greatly improved" thirty-fourth edition of the *Principles of Elocution* was, as the title page informs readers, edited by "F.B. Calvert, from the New College, Edinburgh, and the Edinburgh Academy." In addition to being an actor, Frederick Baltimore Calvert was "a lecturer on elocution to the free church colleges of Edinburgh and Glasgow" (Boase, n.p.). New College was formed in 1843 in order to educate Free Church ministers, and the faculty was comprised of many esteemed faculty from the University of Edinburgh who had joined the Free Church.[140] Just as Glasgow was influenced by communities in Philadelphia that were committed to reform and social justice, his studies at the University of Edinburgh were likely informed, in part, by communities and texts focused on the reformation of society, church, and higher education.

Glasgow attempted to make sense of the changing world and his own liminal nationality by mapping his experience onto the aforementioned portion of Scott's *The Lay of the Last Minstrel.*[141] After informing his readers that, at summer's end, he "landed once more on his native shores, the American," Glasgow quotes three lines of poetry from Canto Sixth of *The Lay*:

> Breathes there a man with soul so dead,
>
> Who never to himself hath said—
>
> This is my own, my native land. (Glasgow 7)

Immediately after this quotation, Glasgow declares: "I am that man." The remainder of Scott's stanza, which Glasgow does not quote, sheds more light on what type of man this might be: regardless of how much glory, riches, and honor a man with no nation may earn, ultimately, he

> shall go down
>
> To the vile dust, from which he sprung,
>
> Unwept, unhonour'd and unsung." (Scott 181)

Scott also explains in *The Lay*'s preface that "the Poem was put into the mouth of an ancient Minstrel, the last of the race" (33). Glasgow adopts this "minstrel" voice as his own, "putting in his mouth" the lament of a man who is unable, but desperately wants to, claim a country. Locating his identity within a Scott poem evokes, of course, a similar decision Douglass made after he escaped from slavery when he changed his last name from Bailey to Douglass, inspired by a character in Scott's *Lady of the Lake* (207), a move Sweeney posits, "appears to embrace romanticized notions of heroic masculinity" (19). J. Ewing Glasgow's narrative also contains "romanticized notions" but he never strays far from the harsh realities he left behind in the United States. As mentioned above, Glasgow explains that he can never feel "that patriotic sentiment towards America" because of his "coloured skin" that "in America was a misfortune

punishable as a crime" (7). *The Harper's Ferry Insurrection*, unlike other John Brown monographs published in the nineteenth century, is a self-marked text; it is the only one whose author identifies his own skin color. John Brown takes center stage for the majority of the narrative but Glasgow frames the account with his own distinct voice—a voice silenced by hegemonic powers in his "native country" due to nineteenth-century prejudices based on socially constructed notions of race.

In addition to attaching his own narrative to a Scottish literary figure, J. Ewing Glasgow imaginatively speaks for a larger black community through voices of other Scottish and Irish figures. Since much of Glasgow's text follows a chronological outline similar to De Witt's *The Life*, deviations are particularly striking and often dislocate the John Brown saga from the United States. For instance, Glasgow's third chapter, "The Affair at Harper's Ferry as It Really Was," mostly follows a similar section in De Witt's compilation ("The Insurrection at Harper's Ferry: Sunday Night, Oct 16, 1859," 29-30) except when Glasgow recounts how news of the raid began to spread through Maryland and Virginia, he pauses to imagine what these Southerners were thinking. "They thought the slaves, headed by an avenging spirit, had risen *en masse*, and were crying . . . 'Liberty or death!' . . . They were quaking lest the prophetic words of Campbell were then and there coming true—" (17). Campbell is, of course, the Scottish poet, Thomas Campbell (1777-1844) whose *The Poetical Works of Thomas Campbell* Irving edited and brought to an American audience. Glasgow quotes the exact eight lines from Campbell's poem, "The Pleasure of Hope," which appeared in the aforementioned *Principles of Elocution* under the title "The Moral Change Anticipated by Hope":

> Where'er degraded Nature bleeds and pines,
>
> From Guinea's coast to Libya's dreary mines,

Truth shall pervade th' unfathomed darkness there,

And light the dreadful feature of despair.

Hark! the stern captive spurns his heavy load,

And asks the image back which heaven bestowed;

Fierce in his eye the fire of freedom burns,

And as the slave departs, the man returns. (17)

The nearly nine hundred-line poem is itself transnational in scope, ranging in topics from the French Revolution to the atrocities of slavery in the Americas. The lines Glasgow quotes evoke the burdens of slavery: the "Guinea's coast" and "Libya's dreary mines," the "stern captive" spurning "his heavy load," ending with "And as the slave departs, the man returns" (17). Despite the lofty rhetoric of the poem, Glasgow emphasizes that, in reality, John Brown and his men were a "feeble band," a reminder perhaps that opposing chattel slavery is not work of larger-than-life heroes only: college students far from home can also do their part. More significant, however, in Glasgow's choice to quote Campbell and to assume the voice of the enslaved (when Glasgow was freeborn) is his conflating of nations (Scotland/the United States/Africa).

Ultimately, Glasgow imagines the words of two people who hail from Ireland—Robert Emmet and Edmund Burke—emanating from Brown's mouth during Brown's trial and from beyond the grave. Emmet appears, as Campbell's poetry does, in the midst of a narrative that tracks closely with De Witt's compilation. However, Glasgow demonstrates his sense of expediency in creating a narrative in his sixth chapter ("Trial of Brown and the Other Prisoners") by reordering exchanges of dialogue for effect and condensing long passages of legal minutiae, which serves to highlight the more dramatic parts of the testimony given at Brown's trial. Immediately following the jury's return to the courtroom with the verdict of guilty on all counts,

Glasgow recounts how John Brown settles back on his cot where he lay recovering from his wounds for most of the trial: "At that moment [Brown] seemed to say, in the words of Emmett [*sic*], 'the blood for which you thirst is not congealed by artificial terror which surrounds your victim. It circulates warmly and unruffled through channels which you are bound to destroy, for purposes so grievous, that they cry to Heaven'" (35). This moment in Glasgow's text is remarkable on two accounts: first, he assigns the defiant *speech* of a man condemned to die to Brown's *action* (or perhaps, inaction) of laying down "quietly, as to a night's repose after a day of pleasant labour," and secondly, Brown himself was a fiery rhetorician, so a surrogate speech at this moment seems unnecessary. That said, Emmet's life and death is an apt comparison to Brown's: Emmet was an exemplar of the Irish attempting to overthrow the hegemonic English, and the speech Glasgow excerpts is from Emmet's "Speech from the Dock"—his final public words, spoken after he was convicted of treason for making "a daring attempt to win Irish independence, which was ingenious in its design and utterly disastrous in its execution" (Geoghegan xiii). Emmet, like Brown, was also hung. Glasgow's imagining of these words coming from Brown, however, further solidifies a seeming desire on Glasgow's part to unfetter revolutionary actions and words from men bound to specific nations. An Irish voice speaks for an American through the narrative of a black man who has been spurned by one continent but not quite "at home" in another.

The second time Glasgow employs an Irish voice to speak for John Brown comes after an account of his funeral, and after Glasgow has left the framework of De Witt's text completely to begin his "Concluding Remarks" (Chapter X):

> It is not the scaffold, it is the crime that dishonours the man.[142] Brown to every sane person with a heart says in the emphatic language of Burke: "The only

> charge against me is, that I have pushed the principles of benevolence and justice too far—farther than a cautious policy would warrant, and farther than the opinions of many would go along with me." (46)

Glasgow may have recognized an affinity with Burke, who was born in Dublin in 1729 and educated at a school that was founded, like the Institute for Colored Youth, by Quakers. Perhaps Glasgow simply admired someone born in Ireland who spent the majority of his political career in England, yet maintained "a profound love of both countries" (O'Keeffe 2, 11). Underlying Burke's career and writings is a strong sense of justice, as he was critical of Great Britain's activities in the colonies of Ireland, America, and India. The exigencies under which Burke delivered his "Speech to the Electors of Bristol" is tame compared to Emmet or John Brown, both of whom faced certain execution; Burke was justifying his use of political power, acting at times against the wishes of the majority of his constituents but always with an eye towards justice. Glasgow's decision to place Burke's words in Brown's mouth is a strategic move which reframes Brown at the conclusion of *The Harper's Ferry Insurrection* from condemned traitor to respected political leader. Ultimately then, Glasgow's use of Scottish and Irish figures within his Brown narrative are imaginative exercises—journeys which allow him to reimagine Brown's (and perhaps his own) nationality and potential place in history. Additionally, by linking Brown to nations beyond the United States, Glasgow makes an implicit argument that just because chattel slavery has been abolished in the British West Indies, the abolition of slavery in the United States should remain a transnational concern.

The artistic liberties Glasgow takes in terms of imagining a transformation of John Brown from a Scotch-Irish revolutionary to a respected political leader are also employed as Glasgow imagines Brown's uncertain legacy. In the final chapters of *The Harper's Ferry*

Insurrection, after carefully following published reports of the raid, trial, and execution of Brown, primarily using a detached, third person point-of-view, Glasgow shifts to a first person plural point-of-view as he contemplates Brown's funeral procession. The opening lines of the ninth chapter ("The Last Scene of the Drama") bring the reader to the edge of Brown's coffin as Glasgow writes: "As we gaze for a moment, ere the lid is adjusted, on his countenance scarcely marred by death, we see plainly written in his features the declaration contained in his last words" (43). And then, Glasgow makes the unusual move of imagining Brown's final public speech as something *written* on Brown's corpse. While many newspaper accounts include Brown's final speech, only Glasgow imagines the words inscribed on Brown's body. Perhaps words on a body suggest Brown's rhetoric was inextricably linked to Brown himself, that the message will be buried with the man. And, despite the fact that Glasgow recounts Brown's final words, they contain a message that ostensibly Glasgow would like to see buried:

> I die alone responsible for my own operations, and ask for no sympathy. I am satisfied in my own belief—but desire no other man to believe as I do, unless his conscience and philosophy approve. I am singly responsible for my own acts, good or bad. If right or wrong, the consequences rest only upon myself. (43-44)

Brown's reported final message to the world, that he acted alone and that his actions to abolish slavery might be morally ambiguous undercuts Glasgow's sense of community and his desire to champion a man whose singular life purpose was to abolish slavery. However, while these final words contain no direct reference to violence, they are an endorsement of employing violence if one's "conscience and philosophy approve." Glasgow's deviations from a strict journalistic style also implicitly make an argument that imaginative leaps are necessary in order to understand Brown's life and death.

Glasgow also takes the reader on an imaginative journey that follows Brown's funeral procession from Virginia, through Philadelphia, New York City and Albany until it ends at Brown's final resting place in New Elba. De Witt's compilation includes a brief account of Brown's execution and burial, and describes the final scene as thus: "The body of Brown arrived by the special train, and will be taken . . . by express direct to Albany. It is desired to avoid all public demonstrations; and it is determined that the body shall not be visible anywhere on the route to North Elba" (101). Even Redpath's account, found in *The Public Life,* insists that the body was laid to rest with "no pompous parade" (406).[143] Glasgow appears to find this anonymous whisking away of Brown's body dissatisfactory, and describes a funeral procession from Philadelphia to New York in which "a great crowd of people follows [the coffin] even to the steamboat landing—some weeping bitterly; others with but a tear glistening in their eyes, yet showing, by a visible tremor of their frame, great emotion" (44). Glasgow presumably drew upon other sources for these final scenes but the deviation from the texts he relied upon heavily for the bulk of his text suggests the intentionality of how he shaped his narrative. More importantly, however, Glasgow's peopling of Brown's funeral procession reveals a desire to make the mourning of John Brown a larger community experience.[144]

Frederick Douglass's John Brown Narratives

A reading of Frederick Douglass's thoughts on John Brown, both before and after the Civil War, also reveals the differing risks associated with championing violence as a means of ending chattel slavery. The most prominent black man associated with John Brown, Douglass, left the United States for a second European tour in October 1859 when he learned that "the New York lieutenant governor was prepared to arrest Douglass if Governor Henry Wise of Virginia, now in charge of [the Harpers Ferry] investigation, issued such an order" (Blight 306). As

mentioned earlier in this chapter, Douglass spoke about John Brown several times in late 1859 and early 1860. In a speech Douglass delivered in early 1860 in Wakefield, reprinted from an article originally published in the *Wakefield Express,* Douglass admits that John Brown spent seven weeks in his house but contends that Brown "did not go into the slave state for the purpose of shedding blood: that was not his object. He did not go to life the standard of insurrection" but rather, he went as Moses "to conduct a grand movement of slaves out of bondage," and only carried weapons for self-defense ("Great Anti-Slavery Meeting in Wakefield" 4). Douglass then reframes the conversation, arguing that slaveholders were the ones who shed blood and who were involved in an insurrection against humanity through the practice of enslaving blacks. It is not until twenty years later, in 1881, when Douglass delivered a speech at Storer College located in Harpers Ferry, Virginia, that he recounted in greatest detail the private meetings he had with Brown in the days leading up to the raid. However, even then, as Douglass revealed intimate details of the meeting, he still sought a measure of distance from the man: "I wish however to say just here that there was no foundation whatever for the charge that I in any wise urged or instigated John Brown to his dangerous work" ("John Brown" 636). In the following chapter, I discuss how Douglass used geographic distance to continue his own "dangerous work" of reshaping the American metanarrative which often excluded the contributions of people of color.

Geographic and temporal distance afforded Douglass, William Wells Brown and others an opportunity to speak more freely about the role of violence in reshaping the United States in the nineteenth century. Geographic distance may have also contributed to J. Ewing Glasgow's boldness in writing *The Harper's Ferry Insurrection* but his eagerness to publish it as quickly as possible suggests he knew his time was limited. While Glasgow was never enslaved and no one in the United States suggested he should be hung for his association with Brown—both which

were true for Douglass and others—travels abroad allowed him and other people of African descent to experience "the transformative power of geographic shifts on individual and group identity" (Sweeney 8). Geographic distance also allowed people of color to speak in ways that could have been dangerous or deadly had they spoken within the confines of the United States, especially when they spoke of the transformative power of violence as a means of affecting change in the present.

CHAPTER V:

"WHERE THE ANCIENT 'BLACK DOUGLASS' ONCE MET HIS FOES": FREDERICK DOUGLASS'S NAVIGATION OF VIOLENT NARRATIVES

Washington Irving died in November 1859, the same month that John Brown was executed for treason and Jesse Ewing Glasgow, who would be also dead within a year, began gathering materials to write his John Brown narrative. By 1859, George Copway's publishing career as well as his popularity had diminished; he received bad press that alleged he was raising funds in New York for Indian concerns by "misrepresenting himself as a clergyman" (D. Smith, *Mississauga* 204-205). Frederick Douglass's notoriety and influence, however, continued; after being linked to Brown's Harpers Ferry raid, Douglass traveled first to Canada and by mid-November he was aboard a ship for his second transatlantic trip to Scotland and England. Julia Griffiths Crofts, who Douglass met in 1846 on his first trip to the British Isles and who would "become an extremely important friend and coworker in Douglass's life" (Blight 170-171) reported in a letter published in *Douglass' Monthly* (April 1860): "You will be interested to learn that thus far, our friend, Mr. Douglass' British anti-slavery campaign has proved highly successful. He lectured and spoke in public many times in our town d[u]ring the winter, and has always obtained large and attentive audiences. His Scotch tour was a brilliant one—his reception everywhere enthusiastic, and his welcome an universally warm one" (Crofts 248). Douglass's second transatlantic journey, while a time of personal peril, served only to bolster his growing celebrity, a notoriety that has largely continued into the twenty-first century.[145] Douglass's tremendous catalogue of written work—his lectures, autobiographies, newspapers, speeches, and his only work of fiction, *The Heroic Slave*—reveal, among many other things, the way Douglass attempted to both embrace and subvert the American metanarrative that the United States was a

peaceful, prosperous nation, founded on the spirit of rebellion, but whose adherence to violence as a means of affecting change, belonged safely ensconced in the past. Douglass's works were influenced by his transatlantic journeys and Scottish Enlightenment thinking. His views on the potential uses of violence to effect change were also (re)shaped by geographies outside the United States.

One does not have to delve far into twenty-first century Douglass scholarship to encounter discussions of how Douglass was the nineteenth-century exemplar of one thing or another: his most recent biographer, David W. Blight, suggests that Douglass may have been "the most widely traveled American public figure of his century" (xiv); John Stauffer, Zoe Trodd, and Celeste-Maries Bernier, in their *Picturing Frederick Douglass: An Illustrated Biography of the Nineteenth Century's Most Photographed American,* argue through texts, photographs and illustrations what the text's subtitle promises, namely that "Douglass was the most photographed American in the nineteenth century" (ix).[146] And, it is near impossible to write about Douglass, or better yet, read his writing firsthand and not understand that Douglass was one of the greatest orators of the nineteenth (or any) century. William Lloyd Garrison was among the first (and perhaps still the best known) to heap praise on Douglass's effectiveness as an abolitionist speaker. In the preface to Douglass's *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass, an American Slave,* after Garrison recounts hearing Douglass deliver a speech for the first time, he calls Douglass, "in natural eloquence[,] a prodigy" (iv). Blight writes that Douglass "had few rivals as a lecturer in the golden age of oratory" (xiv). Yuval Taylor writes of Douglass's lectures: "with his combination of rhetorical power, intellectual acumen, classical eloquence, and physical presence, Douglass may well rank as the greatest American orator of his time" (xi).

Beyond Douglass's mastery of effective communication—his cognizance of exigencies, constraints, audience and medium—scholars have recounted the impact of the messages themselves. John W. Blassingame, who compiled the six volume *The Frederick Douglass Papers,* wrote of Douglass's works: "His speeches were always logical, often lyrical, and incomparably lucid. Laced with poetic allusions and built on a firm philosophical foundation, they embodied constant appeals to justice, equality, and freedom" (*The Clarion Voice* 11). Robert S. Levine, John Stauffer, and John R. McKivigan contend that "Douglass had long recognized that truth telling was, along with rhetoric . . . , one of the abolitionists' most potent weapons against slavery" ("Introduction" xxvi). And, Philip S. Foner, in his preface to *Frederick Douglass, Selected Speeches and Writings,* explains: "Here are the eloquent words and penetrating thoughts that exerted a decisive influence on the course of national affairs for half a century and moved countless men and women to action in behalf of freedom" (xvii). For whatever flaws Douglass's work and life may have contained, for nearly one hundred and seventy-five years, when it comes to the effective use of rhetoric, Douglass has few equals. [147]

For all the deserved praise Douglass's life and works have garnered, an equal measure of criticism has been leveled against him, especially in regards to his (male) gendered and individualistic worldview. Despite the oft-noted fact that Douglass was one of the few males who attended the Seneca Falls Convention in 1848 and signed the Declaration of Sentiments and Rights, which asserted equal rights for women in the United States, Douglass's privileging of the male experience can be traced throughout the volumes of his works. A. Kristen Foster explains that while Douglass searched for ways to link rights for women's movements with movements that championed rights for African Americans, he was never able to bridge "the fault lines of gendered citizenship" (144). Foster argues that Douglass never abandoned his concerns

regarding rights for women but, coupled with his evolving belief throughout the 1850s and early 1860s in violence as a necessary tool in abolishing slavery, he concluded that rights for women and rights for black males "each would be secured in its own way: black men would have to fight with the sword while women armed themselves with the pen and a little faith in their male protector" (167). Stauffer, who is less critical of Douglass's privileging and coupling of manhood and violence, asserts that in Douglass's verbal and physical struggles against enslavement, he "affirmed an aggressive form of manhood that linked physical force to one's savage instincts and animal passions" (*The Black Hearts of Men* 184). Alasdair Pettinger also suggests that Douglass's privileging of masculinity was developed as a result of the conditions of slavery. Pettinger writes: "the terms 'fugitive' and 'runaway' carried for [Douglass] a charge of cowardice that was anathema to the codes of Southern masculinity Douglass absorbed as a youth" (213). And, Fionnghuala Sweeney succinctly captures the criticism which befalls Douglass most often in late twentieth-, early twenty-first century criticism, namely works which lionize Douglass as "both an entirely representative, yet utterly exceptional emblem of African American manhood in the nineteenth century" (4). The Frederick Douglass of his three autobiographies—*Narrative* (1845), *My Bondage and My Freedom* (1855), and *Life and Times of Frederick Douglass, Written by Himself* (1881)—changes in certain ways with the passage of time, but the persona Douglass projects in these texts is consistently, for better or for worse, a self-made man.[148]

As the criticism above suggests, discussions regarding Douglass's privileging of the masculine are often inextricable from Douglass's own experience with violence. His personal experiences, both as a person subjected the brutality of slavery, and as a free person subjected to mob violence are reflected in his speeches and other writings that vacillate between advocating

nonviolence and violence in the cause of abolishing slavery. Larry J. Reynolds, in *Righteous Violence: Revolution, Slavery, and the American Renaissance,* provides the most helpful framework through which to consider Douglass's "complex attitude toward political violence" (86), that shifted from a Garrisonian adherence to "moral suasion" in the 1840s to an endorsement of violent means, depending on the medium, audience, and period of Douglass's life. Reynolds also argues that revolutions in Europe during 1848-49 influenced Douglass and other abolitionists to more seriously consider "political violence" as a viable option for effecting societal change (96). Reynolds also reminds readers that Douglass's move towards violence was not simply an upward trajectory as Douglass returns to a more conservative worldview post-American Civil War. Foster, as referenced above, sees Douglass's endorsement of violence as the crucial element in his evolving views regarding rights for people in general, and rights for black men in particular: "By the 1850s, [Douglass] argued that only certain kinds of violence would end slavery and resurrect the manhood of black men" (143). Blight, focusing on Douglass's personal experiences with violence, especially the attacks Douglass suffered on the lecture circuit in the United States, contends: "we need only remember . . . his experience in the proslavery criminal justice system to understand his ambivalence. A brawler of necessity, he would ultimately find philosophical nonviolence untenable" (77). Most recently, Kellie Carter Jackson, in *Force and Freedom: Black Abolitionists and the Politics of Violence* argues that by 1860, "Douglass approved of every method of proceeding against slavery, be it politics, religion, peace, disunion, or war" (124). Works that focus on Douglass's relationship to violence typically focus on ways his worldview was primarily shaped by violence in the United States; however, the violent history and literature of the British Isles, specifically in Scotland, also contributed to Douglass's shifting views on the use of violence.

Much has been written regarding Douglass's first transatlantic journey from 1845-1847, during which time he traveled through Britain, Ireland, and Scotland. In *Frederick Douglass and the Atlantic World,* Sweeney focuses primarily on the time Douglass spent in Ireland, and the ways the Dublin editions of his *Narrative* began to transform the ways both Douglass and his text traveled throughout the British Isles. As noted in the previous chapter, the U.S. edition of Douglass's *Narrative* is enclosed in what John Sekora calls the "white envelope" of William Lloyd Garrison's preface and Wendell Phillips's letter of endorsement. Douglass's ability to include additional "prefacing devices and appendices" for the Dublin editions, most notably a preface written by himself that was inserted before Garrison's preface, "extend the boundaries of the text, positing it and its central fiction, the slave subject, as cultural artefacts in ongoing synthesis with their points of origin and the developing context of Atlantic history" (Sweeney 14). Sweeney argues that, through Douglass's interactions with British antislavery and emancipation organizations, he also continued to refine his own views on how to proceed with antislavery efforts in the United States. However, Robert S. Levine, in *The Lives of Frederick Douglass,* cautions against reading the Dublin editions of the *Narrative* as a radically different text. Levine argues there is value in "exploring the productive role of Garrison and his antislavery society in the making of Douglass's first autobiography, and thus of the relative convergence, or congruence, of the white envelope with the black message" (33). Levine demonstrates that while "Douglass and Garrison had come to hate each other by the early 1850s," their relationship was symbiotic in that Douglass had benefitted from his employment by the American Anti-Slavery Society and Garrison's endorsement of his *Narrative,* and Garrison had gained access to a firsthand narrative about the horrors of slavery from Douglass, fodder which served Garrison's own professional endeavors (39). Ultimately, though, Levine

concludes, as Sweeney does, that the Dublin editions are Douglass's efforts "to make the *Narrative* a more transatlantic text under his own editorial control" (80). While both Levine and Sweeney discuss Douglass's travels in Scotland, both texts examine Douglass's life and work within the geographic confines of Ireland.

There has been a dearth of scholarship dedicated solely to Douglass's time spent in Scotland during either of his first two transatlantic journeys until Alasdair Pettinger's *Frederick Douglass and Scotland, 1846*: *Living an Antislavery Life* (2019). Pettinger performs the important work of examining Douglass's experiences in, and affinity for, Scotland separately from Ireland and England. Pettinger, like Levine, recounts Douglass's sometimes harrowing trip across the Atlantic on the *Cambria* in 1845, during which Douglass encountered the familiar racism of some of his white, fellow travelers who attempted to suppress Douglass's ability to speak. Pettinger recounts Douglass's involvement in the "Send Back the Money" campaign, which Douglass championed in an effort to influence the Free Church of Scotland to return funds they had received on fund-raising excursions that included contributions from proslavery people in the southern United States. Most relevant to this discussion, however, is Pettinger's examination of ways Douglass was influenced by Scots writers, especially Robert Burns and Sir Walter Scott. Pettinger's main argument throughout his discussions is that "Scotland was of course not the only crucible of Douglass's development, but circumstances there did offer him opportunities to experiment and assert himself in ways he had not done previously" (25). As the title indicates, *Frederick Douglass and Scotland, 1846* offers insight to Douglass's first experiences in Scotland but, not his second transatlantic travels from November 1859 to April 1860.

Given Douglass's prodigious writings regarding his own life, coupled with the vast amount of Douglass scholarship that exists, surprisingly little attention has been dedicated to Douglass's second transatlantic trip. In his lengthiest and most comprehensive autobiography, *The Life and Times of Frederick Douglass, in His Own Words* (1881), Douglass himself devotes little more than a scant paragraph to this trip: "My time had been chiefly occupied in speaking on slavery, and other subjects, in different parts of England and Scotland, meeting and enjoying the while the society of many of the kind friends whose acquaintances I had made during my visit to those countries fourteen years before" (328). Compared to his visit "fourteen years before" which lasted a year and a half, this second trip was truncated to three months, due to the death of Douglass's daughter, Annie, in March 1860. Douglass called Annie "the light and life of my house" (328), and perhaps to write more about his second transatlantic journey would have evoked painful memories Douglass preferred not to revisit. More likely, however, Douglass does not write more about this second transatlantic trip because it is bookended by two of the more significant events in his personal and professional life (and arguably in the history of the United States): John Brown's attack on Harpers Ferry, and Abraham Lincoln's election as President of the United States.

To identify one specific event or geographic location as the defining essence of Douglass's life and works would do a disservice to the breadth of the experiences of a man who was born into slavery and died one of the most respected people of the nineteenth century. That said, in the years he traveled abroad, these major concerns can be traced throughout Douglass's life and work: political violence as an agent of change, the progression of thought and action, and the unification of people and ideas, formed and reshaped by Scottish Enlightenment thinking and Scottish literature during Douglass's transatlantic travels. Scottish Enlightenment thinking is

evident in Douglass's progression of thought away from nonviolent moral suasion as a means to abolish chattel slavery, and towards an endorsement of more violent methods, something we can see in Douglass's *The Heroic Slave.* Yet, Douglass avoids advocating a type of violence that would completely destroy a unified United States, a concern he expresses in his lecture "The Constitution of the United States: Is It Pro-Slavery or Anti-Slavery?" that he delivered in Glasgow in 1860. And, once the American Civil War began, while Douglass endorses any method that will abolish slavery, his fear that the destruction wrought by war may jeopardize the entire nation remains. Three lectures Douglass delivers after the war began—"Lecture on Pictures" (1861), "Age of Pictures" (1862), and "Pictures and Progress" (1864)—in addition to expressing his concerns over the war's vast destruction, also contain some of his most clear expressions of Scottish Enlightenment thinking, along with his vision for a postwar America. Scotland, then, provided fertile ground for Douglass to reshape the nineteenth-century, American metanarrative that excluded the voice of black Americans.

"The Ancient Black Douglass": Douglass, Robert Burns, and Walter Scott

Before Douglass adopted a surname from a work by a famous Scot, Sir Walter Scott, he consumed the poetry of the only Scot more revered than Scott: Robert Burns. The first book Douglass claims to have bought upon escaping slavery was *The Works of Robert Burns.*[149] And, just as *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* dubbed James Fenimore Cooper the "Scott of America" in 1825 ("Late American Books" 323), the Scots minister and writer, George Gilfillan, "proclaimed Douglass to be 'the most powerful of natural orators, the self-taught, the Burns of the African race'" (Pettinger 139).[150] Douglass's admiration of Burns extended beyond Burns's poetry; before Douglass departed from visiting Scotland the first time, his biographer David Blight explains he "became a tourist in search of the land's romantic military history and

especially of Robert Burns" (166). In addition to viewing the landscape, when Douglass visited Ayr, he was able to meet Burns's sister, Isabella Burns Begg, and her two daughters.[151]

References to Burns's poetry are scattered throughout Douglass's newspapers, which suggests Burns was a poet who resonated with Douglass long after his purchase of *The Works of Robert Burns.* The poem, "Robert Burns," by a poet identified only as "Montgomery" appears in Douglass's newspaper, *The North Star,* in December 1847. Montgomery employs an extended metaphor, comparing Burns to a Phoenix, in order to laud the works of Burns, and argue that his influence "burns" more brightly than the other "birds" (presumably other poets). Douglass's decision to include this poem may have simply been a desire to honor Burns fifty years after his death. However, an excerpt of the poem evokes imagery that one could associate with Douglass himself:

> But roused, no Falcon in the chase,
> Could, like his satire, kill,
> The linnet in simplicity. ("Robert Burns" n.p.)

The linnet, a small song-bird, serves as a clever play on words here because while "its plumage is brown or warm grey . . . in summer the breast and crown of the cock (when wild, not when caged) become crimson or rose-colour" ("Linnet, n." n.p.). In other words, the linnet's physical appearance reminds birdwatchers of fire, an obvious connection to Burns. However, the idea of a large bird, the falcon, being unable to "kill" the smaller linnet's "satire," when read in the context of a newspaper published by Douglass, expands the connection beyond Robert Burns. By 1847, Douglass is already known for his ability to wield deadly satire against hegemonic "falcons," both in print and on the lecture circuit.

Anecdotes related to Burns that appear in both *The North Star* and *Frederick Douglass' Paper* not only indicate Douglass's lifetime admiration for the poet, but also serve as a way for Douglass to appropriate the words of a popular Scottish poet and use them in service of causes dear to Douglass. The 9 March 1849 edition of *The North Star* includes an anecdote in which Burns witnesses a wealthy man who is saved from drowning by a passerby. The man who was saved offers his rescuer a mere shilling for his efforts, which infuriates the crowd who has gathered. Burns, "with a smile of ineffable scorn, entreated [the crowd] to restrain their clamor, 'for,' said he, 'the gentleman is the best judge of the value of his own life'" ("Robert Burns" n.p.). This anecdote, as a standalone piece, evokes humor and serves as a character sketch of Burns; however, within the context of a newspaper dedicated to the antislavery cause, Burns's wisdom is used as a proxy for one of the many arguments Douglass and other black leaders made against the enslavement of humans namely, the immorality of someone placing monetary value on another human's life. In 1852, Douglass includes another Burns anecdote in *Frederick Douglass' Paper,* which offers another variation on the same theme. "Worth Makes the Man" presents Burns as one who did not judge another person on the basis of outward appearance or social standing but rather "the man that was in" what otherwise appears to be rustic clothing. The set up for "Worth Makes the Man" is that Burns stops to talk to a "country farmer," and afterwards Burns's traveling companion, a "young Edinburgh blood" upbraids Burns for his "defect of taste." Burns responded: "Why, you fantastic gomeril [*sic*]" . . . "it was not the great coat, the scone bonnet, and the saundaer [*sic*] hose I spoke to, but the man that was in them; and the man, sir, for true worth, would weigh down you and me, and ten more such any day" (n.p.). Much like the anecdote regarding the man who nearly drowned, Burns's egalitarian worldview in

"Worth Makes the Man" takes on the additional dimension of not judging people based on skin pigment, when the sentiment appears in a newspaper owned and operated by a black man.[152]

Douglass not only includes references to Burns in his newspapers, but he also references Burns in his second autobiography, *My Bondage and My Freedom,* published in 1855. Douglass evokes the words of Burns in a section in which Douglass names specific people who had enslaved him:

> While I am stating particular cases, I might as well immortalize another of my neighbors, by calling him by name, and putting him in print. He did not think that a "chiel" was near, "taking notes," and will, doubtless, feel quite angry at having his character touched off in the ragged style of a slave's pen. (259).

The "chiel" "taking notes" is a reference to Burns's poem, "On the Late Captain Grose's Peregrinations Thro' Scotland" in which Burns writes about a child (or an inauspicious observer) who is able to report on people's activities because they do not believe they are being watched. Burns's lines read: "A chield's amang you, taking notes,/And, faith, he'll prent it" (103). Pettinger points out that Douglass (and his readers) would have likely understood the allusion because the first stanza of Burns's poem, which contains these lines, was also a favorite of Scott's who "used it as the epigraph to each of the four volumes of *Tales of My Landlord*" (131). The image of the unobtrusive observer taking notes to share with a larger audience, Pettinger argues, was particularly useful for Douglass: the whites who enslaved him never imagined that he was taking mental notes that he would one day share in his *Narrative of Frederick Douglass, an American Slave. Written,* of course, as his title reminds his readers, *by Himself.*

In 1864, Douglass writes "Pictures and Progress," a lecture in which he also references Burns: "We have pictures, of every object which can interest us. The aspiration of Burns is now

realized. Men of all conditions and classes can now see themselves as others see them, and as they will be seen by those [who] shall come after them" (155). The paraphrase is a reference to Burns's poem "To a Louse, on Seeing One on a Lady's Bonnet at Church," in which Burns writes: "O wad some power the giftie gie us/To see oursel's as others see us!" (Burns 2). During a period of time when Douglass is focused on progress: advances in technology, travel, art and, more importantly, progress in the status of blacks within the United States, he turns his eye backwards to the poetry of Burns. This seems a sentimental choice on Douglass's part, and he even apologies at the start of the lecture for addressing the topic of photography in the midst of a war. Douglass writes, "in this very fact of the all-engrossing character of the war may be found the needed apology for this seeming transgression" ("Pictures" 151). Douglass argues that, by 1864, every detail of the war had been exhaustively covered and that a respite from the topic—one reflecting on the arts (including an eighteenth-century Scottish poet)—seemed called for. The Scottish poet served as a touchstone throughout Douglass's life and works, because Douglass, like Burns, often reminded his readers that self-awareness and the ability to look beyond people's physical appearance was a powerful device in fighting racial prejudice.

Of course, Burns was not the only Scottish writer with whom Douglass identified. As Douglass himself explained in his biographies, when it became necessary to shed the name Frederick Bailey in order to evade slave-hunters after his escape from enslavement, his host, Nathan Johnson, recommended a name inspired by the poetry of Scott. In *The Life and Times of Frederick Douglass*, Douglass writes:

> I consented, and he called me by my present name,–the one by which I have been known for three and forty years,–Frederick Douglass. Mr. Johnson had just been

> reading the 'Lady of the Lake,' and so pleased was he with its great character that he wished me to bear his name. (207)

Even though Douglass claims this connection with Scot, the lines that follow indicate a certain ambivalence: "Since reading that charming poem myself, I have often thought that, considering the noble hospitality and manly character of Nathan Johnson, black man though he was, he, far more than I, illustrated the virtues of the Douglas of Scotland" (207).[153] Douglass's admiration for Nathan Johnson and his wife extended beyond sage advice to change his surname for safety's sake. As Douglass recounts, Nathan and his wife, Mary Johnson, "not only 'took me in when a stranger,' and 'fed me when hungry,' but taught me how to make an honest living" (*Life* 206). The Johnson's hospitality and antislavery efforts were not, of course, limited to Douglass. As early as 1822, the Johnsons "maintained a reception center for runaways arriving by sea at their three-story home" and, in 1841, Nathan joined the American Anti-Slavery Society in an administrative position ("Johnson, Nathan" n.p.). As presented in *The Life and Times of Frederick Douglass*, Douglass's explanation of why he changed his surname from Bailey to Douglass speaks more to his admiration for Nathan and Mary Johnson than it does an affection for the works of Scott.

In order to understand Douglass's equivocation, it is important to recall the context in which he first publicly embraced the persona of "the Douglas of Scotland." A.C.C. Thompson, in the *Delaware Republican*, accused Douglass of fabricating parts of his *Narrative*, taking especial issue with how Douglass besmirched the character of Thompson's acquaintances. Douglass launched his defense from the British Isles, a missive which was published in the 27 February 1846 edition of *The Liberator*. Douglass thanks Thompson for substantiating details about Douglass's narrative by confirming that Thompson knew several of the principal people

Douglass names, including himself. This was of especial concern to Douglass given that while on the lecture circuit in the British Isles, some people doubted he was, in fact, once enslaved but after Thompson's complaint, "no one could now sustain a claim that [Douglass] was an imposter" (Blight 161). Equally important, Douglass hints at the "note taking child" he once was:

> You are confident I did not write the book; and the reason of your confidence is, that when you knew me, I was an unlearned and rather an ordinary negro. . . But you know me under very unfavorable circumstance . . . The degradation to which I was then subjected, as I now look back to it, seems more like a dream than a horrible reality. I can scarcely realize how I ever passed through it, without quit[e] losing all my moral and intellectual energies. I can easily understand that you sincerely doubt if I wrote the narrative . . . You must not judge me now by what I th[e]n was. ("Letter From Frederick Douglass" 85)

Douglass continues in the same vein, agreeing that Douglass, the enslaved, had been reborn as Douglass, the freeman. Then Douglass ends his letter:

> You remember when I used to meet you on the r[o]ad to St. Michael's, or near Mr. Covey's lane gate, I hardly dared to lift my head, and look up at you. If I should meet you now, amid the free hills of old Scotland, where the ancient 'black Douglass' once met his foes, I presume I might summon sufficient fortitude to look you full in the face; and were you to attempt to make a slave of me, it is possible you might find me almost as disagreeable a subject, as was the Douglass to whom I have just referred. Of one thing, I am certain—you would see *a great change in me!* (85)

Douglass reminds his primary audience, A.C.C. Thompson, as well as his secondary audience, readers of *The Liberator,* that the hills in Scotland, unlike the hills in the United States, are "free" for all people, regardless of the color of their skin. Douglass also reminds his audience, especially those who are white, that once the legal conditions of people change (all people who inhabit the land are free), the social conditions for all people change as well: in Scotland, Douglass could look a white person "full in the face" without fear of retribution for breaking a social norm that existed in most regions of the United States in the nineteenth century. By invoking the "ancient black Douglass," Fredrick Douglass also shifts from a reminder that sometimes the unassuming observer can emerge as a voice that exposes injustice from a global stage to envisioning himself as a being who is willing to engage in violence if challenged.

James Douglas was one of the many figures Sir Walter Scott included in his *Tales of a Grandfather,* written for his grandchild.[154] As Scott explains in the preface to volume one: "The compilation, though professing to be only a collection of Tales, or Narratives from the Scottish Chronicles, will nevertheless be found to contain a general view of the history of that Country, from the period when it begins to possess general interest" (i). Scott's choice to title his histories of Scotland, *Tales of a Grandfather,* suggests they were to be read with a grain of salt. And yet, his descriptions of the Black Douglas differ little from those found in the historical record. Scott writes: "You must know that the name of Douglas had become so terrible to the English, that the women used to frighten their children with it, and say to them when they behaved ill, that they 'would make the Black Douglas take them'" (205). The *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* contains a similar description: "The women of the English border silenced their children with the threat that mewling would bring the Black Douglas upon them" (Duncan n.p.). The historical figure Douglass evoked was "the Good Sir James Douglas," also known as Black

Douglas, "a ruthless field commander" in the early fourteenth century "to whom winning was all" (Duncan n.p.). James Douglas was presumably the original "Black Douglas," though "the whole line of Sir James's descendants were known collectively as the Black Douglases" (Pettinger 111). James Douglas derived his moniker not "from his coat of arms, so presumably [it] refers to the colour of his hair" (Duncan n.p.). Everything about this figure seems larger-than-life. The *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* includes harrowing descriptions of James Douglas's military career, such as: "He took the undefended castle, and beheaded the prisoners in a cellar, mingling their blood and limbs with emptied sacks of provisions and tuns of wine from the castle stores" (Duncan n.p.). It seems likely that when Nathan Johnson first suggested that Frederick Bailey adopt the surname "Douglas[s]" because "so pleased was [Johnson] with its great character that he wished [Frederick] to bear his name" (*Life* 207) that Johnson knew the violent associations of the name more than did Frederick Bailey. However, by 1846, Frederick Douglass was well versed in the violent history of Scotland, and clearly understood the threat of violence he leveled at Thompson.

Yet Scotland's violent history also sat uneasy with Douglass. After he toured Ayr and the Burns monument, he visited with Burns's family members, and wrote to a friend back in the United States, sounding like a "young romantic [writing] as though he were the author of a popular Scottish history or even a tourist guidebook" (Blight 167). Douglass writes: "I am now as you will perceive by the date of this letter in old Scotland—almost every hill, river, mountain and lake of which has been made classic by the heroic deeds of her noble sons. Scarcely a stream but what has been poured into song, or a hill that is not associated with some firce [*sic*] and bloody conflict between liberty and slavery" (qtd. in Pettinger 271-72). However, Douglass may have "felt the burden of the namesake he had borrowed from Sir Walter Scott" (Blight 167)

and "compelled to reflect on what it means for him to celebrate" violence (Pettinger 272). The letter's tone shifts when Douglass confesses: "My soul sickens at the thought yet I see in myself all those elements of character which were I to yield to their promptings might lead me to deeds as bloody as those at which my soul now sickens, and from which I now turn with disgust and shame" (272). That the thought of violence makes Douglass's soul sick twice within one sentence suggests that he is not ready, in early 1846, to personally break completely with Garrisonian ideals of nonviolent moral suasion. Given, however, that Douglass's threat to Thompson of unleashing the "black Douglass" if ever he has the opportunity to look him "full in the face" circulated not just in Garrison's *The Liberator* but also as part of the appendix of the *Narrative's* second Dublin edition, suggests that Frederick Douglass was prepared to make a shift towards endorsing violence in his public persona.

Douglass's affinity for the works of Scotland's most beloved writers is problematic in ways not necessarily related to violence. Burns, as a young man, considered pursuing a position as a bookkeeper/overseer of a sugar plantation in Jamaica, a position he ultimately decided not to take.[155] And, even though Burns's poetry is rife with the struggles of people who would be considered members of the lower class of society, "one would be hard pushed to find a direct and unqualified abolitionist statement in any of [Burns's] writing" (Pettinger 137). Despite this, Douglass claimed an affinity with Burns and his work, at least publically. In 1849, Douglass spoke at the Burns' Anniversary Festival in Rochester, New York, an event reported in the 2 February 1849 edition of *The North Star*. "Burns' Anniversary Festival" was written by Douglass's printer, John Dick, who ostensibly "attended the gathering as a proud Scot and not just as a dispassionate reporter of his employer's speaking engagements" (Pettinger 157). In Douglass's speech on this occasion, he reminds his audience that he had travelled through

Scotland two years before "and became acquainted with its people, and realized their warmth of heart, steadiness of purpose, and learned that every stream, hill, glen and valley, had been rendered classic by heroic deeds in behalf of Freedom" (Dick n.p.). Douglass focused more on the landscape made free by "heroic deeds"—just as he emphasized the "free hills of old Scotland" in his letter to A.C.C. Thompson—and less on life of Robert Burns. Near the end of his brief address, Douglass again signals a slight disconnect between himself, Burns, and the audience before him: "though I am not a Scotchman, and have a colored skin, I am proud to be among you this evening. And if any think me out of my place on this occasion . . . I beg that the blame may be laid at the door of him who taught me that 'a man's a man for a' that.'" The line Douglass repeats, "a man's a man for a' that," is from Burns's oft-quoted poem "Is There for Honest Poverty." This beloved poem celebrates the honesty of people without social standing over those with wealth and status. The poem also echoes the sentiments of the Robert Burns anecdotes Douglass includes in his newspapers over the years, which illustrate Burns' egalitarian worldview.

A decade later, Douglass includes coverage of another Burns celebration with reference to "a man's a man" in the pages of his newspaper. "H. W. Beecher's oration on Robert Burns" appeared in the March 1859 of *Douglass' Monthly*, and while readers are given none of Douglass's thoughts on the oration, Beecher's speech must have struck him as problematic. Henry Ward Beecher's speech, which was delivered at the New York Burns' Club "was a broad, generous and eloquent tribute to the unrivalled Scottish Bard" ("H.W. Beecher" n.p.). The *Douglass Monthly* article reports:

> Alluding to the fact that Burns, at one time, "as the last resort of a broken-down and discouraged man," resolved to go to Jamaica as overseer of a plantation. Mr.

> Beecher said, with a manner which imparted a noble emphasis to his word;—'I think I [s]ee Robert Burns on a plantation, with his whip under [h]is arm; I think I see Robert Burns following a gang of slaves, and chanting, 'a man's a man for a' that' But he was not so bad as that yet." Hearty applause followed this allusion.

The image of Henry Ward Beecher making light of a plantation overseer, whip raised over "a gang of slaves" is unsettling as is the crowd's reaction of "hearty applause," even if the image of Burns as the overseer was pure fiction. Beecher, an abolitionist and Harriet Beecher Stowe's brother, was not only sympathetic to the plight of enslaved blacks, but also encouraged the use of violence against proponents of slavery (Jackson 81). Several years prior to this speech, Beecher's congregation, in response to John Brown's plea for weapons to use in Kansas, "donated twenty-five Sharp rifles to aid in the work of antislavery men. The firearms became known as Beecher Bibles" (81). Douglass's decision to include Beecher's oration in the pages of *Douglass' Monthly*, a speech that, in part, reflects poorly on both Beecher and Burns, demonstrates the problematic relationships that Douglass and other nineteenth-century black leaders often had to forge in their antislavery efforts. However, Douglass's attraction to Burns's poetry, Scott's lays, and the "romantic history" of Scotland, while complicated, is similar to reactions of many transatlantic travelers, including Irving, Copway, and William Wells Brown, who felt a great affinity for Scotland's writers when immersed in Scottish landscapes.[156]

Douglass's appreciation for Burns and Scott, then, serves as a starting point for considering how, throughout 1845 to 1864, we can see Douglass's gradual embrace of the Scottish Enlightenment idea of the importance of a unified nation. As Mary Ellen Brown explains, Burns was viewed as the last of a literary tradition rooted in the "Scots vernacular," a tradition that included the works of eighteenth-century writers such as Allan Ramsay and Robert

Fergusson (34). In 1815, William Ellery Channing argued that since EuroAmericans spoke English like their British counterparts, the United States would be hard pressed to ever create a national literature since "national literature seems to be the product, the legitimate product, of a national language" (307). In his argument, Channing singles out three Scots—Scott, Ramsay, and Burns—as the only writers who had created a distinct Scottish literature (apart from English literature). "Mr. Scott," however, Channing qualifies "has given us a mere translation of his national dialect, and has most happily rendered native beauties of idiom, and even national peculiarities, by another language" while also asserting that Ramsay and Burns "are essentially original" (308). Brown contends that even as English speakers venerated Burns, his writing became "less and less intelligible" due to the "shift toward English cultural and linguistic hegemony [that] had begun in 1603 with the Union of the Crowns" and continued with the 1707 Act of Union (34).[157] The works of Walter Scott and Burns reminded nineteenth century readers of distinct regions that had become homogenized, of languages whose dialects had faded, of violence that had been replaced with the peace. This romanticized past stood in stark contrast to the progress of the more civilized present of the long nineteenth century.

In an 1862 lecture, "Age of Pictures," Douglass notes the potential for the homogenization of language to usher in a more peaceful era for people who share geographic areas. Reflecting on the second trip he took to Scotland and England during late 1859 to early1860, Douglass writes:

> Revisiting old England after a period of fifteen years, and traveling over much the same ground traversed before, I was forcibly struck by this tendency to unity of language everywhere exhibited. People living in one shire had peculiar accents, pronunciations and dialects; but education and intercommunication have now well

> nigh blotted out these distinctions, and a common language is the result. The same effect will eventually be produced on a larger and grander scale—and who shall say that the time will never come, when mankind will have a common language ("Age" 149).

One can imagine that a year into the American Civil War, with thousands dead from sectional fighting, that Douglass may been drawn to equalitarian, almost utopian, visions. The idea he presents here is a comforting one, perhaps, if one's native language is English. It ignores, of course, the countless dialects of indigenous people within the United States. The hope for a common language free from "peculiar accents, pronunciations and dialects" is also a clear articulation of Scottish Enlightenment thinking: archaic poetry and romanticized fictions belong to the past with the vanquished Highlanders and the vanishing Indians. In the paragraph following the passage quoted above, Douglass contends, "all institutions ministering to the selfishness of the few at the expense of the many shall dissolve and vanish before the silent but all conquering tread of physical improvements" ("Age" 149). Douglass would count those fighting to preserve the institution of slavery as the "selfish few" who must vanish. However, in 1862, it does not appear that "physical improvements" will usher in his utopian vision; the future was uncertain but whatever it held would be ushered in through violence.

The Heroic Slave

Douglass's *The Heroic Slave* (1853) serves as a fulcrum between Douglass as an adherent to Garrisonian ideals of nonviolence and Douglass as a full-throated supporter of John Brown's violent methods.[158] Given that *The Heroic Slave* is also Douglass's only known foray into writing an extended work of historical fiction, the connections between Douglass's genre shift (nonfiction to fiction) and political shift (moral suasion to political violence) is compelling.

Robert B. Stepto argues that Douglass's decision to employ fiction, after writing his first autobiography and establishing himself as both a writer for, and an editor of, newspapers was "a logical next step" (358) and that "the opportunity to retell Washington's story was also one for making clear to all that he had indeed broken from the Garrisonian policies condemning agitation and armed force" (359). [159] *The Heroic Slave* indeed indicates a "break" from Garrisonian nonviolent moral suasion as the only means for ending slavery in the United States; however, this shift places Douglass squarely in line with many nineteenth-century black leaders. As Kellie Carter Jackson illustrates in *Force and Freedom: Black Abolitionists and the Politics of Violence*, by the 1850s most black leaders had fully accepted that "the violent institution of slavery required a violent demise" (72).[160] Within black communities, Jackson argues, it was leaders like Douglass who had become mainstream in calls for the use of political violence, and "Garrison's peers labeled him a radical not because of his belief that slavery was wrong, but because he refused to recognize violence as a necessary force in accomplishing the abolition of slavery" (83). The connection between Douglass's own public declaration of a break from Garrison (if we read *The Heroic Slave* as such) and Douglass's foray into fiction as a means to do so, is made most explicit by Stauffer in *The Black Hearts of Men* when he argues that Douglass's specific use of fiction, or his "imagination," allows him to situate violence in several ways that nonfiction would not, or could not, accomplish (192). And, Larry J. Reynolds locates *The Heroic Slave* "within the trajectory of Douglass's career as an abolitionist and show[s] how it combines his early pacifism with his growing belief in the justice of black slaves killing their white masters" (87). [161] Of course, Douglass portrayed himself employing violence as a form of self-defense in his *Narrative*, recounted instances of political violence in his newspapers, bowed up in a violent pose in his open letter to A.C.C. Thompson, but in *The Heroic Slave*, the mask

that fiction provides, allowed him the latitude of exploring violence as self-defense in a new way.

In addition to using fiction as a way to explore the effectiveness of violence against enslavement, *The Heroic Slave* was also published in the years between Douglass's two trips to the British Isles, and bears the marks of Scottish Enlightenment thinking, especially in terms of considering the savage/civilized dichotomy. The "noble Madison Washington" was certainly on Douglass's mind when he delivered his "Farewell Speech to the British People" on 30 March 1847, and traveling through Walter Scott's landscapes may have engendered a desire to try his hand at fiction someday, wedding the historical Washington into a fictive narrative as Walter Scott had done with the "Black Douglas" and other historical figures. Robert Levine, John Stauffer, and John R. McKivigan contend that *The Heroic Slave* is "part of an American canon that was profoundly shaped by the historical fiction of Sir Walter Scott, James Fenimore Cooper, Catharine Maria Sedgwick, Nathaniel Hawthorne, and many others" (xii). They also posit that the popular and financial success of Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (1852) may have served as an impetus for Douglass to turn to fiction as a means of serving the abolitionist cause (xxvii). In the same vein, Blight writes: "Literary scholars have suggested many reasons why Douglass turned to fiction, although any explanation begins with his obligation to produce something original for Julia Griffith's book" *Autographs for Freedom* (249).

Autographs for Freedom was published in 1853, both in the United States and Great Britain. The collection, while comprised primarily of works by writers from the United States, is transnational in scope in that it contains a "Letter from the Earl of Carlisle to the Secretary of the Society" and a "Letter from the Bishop of Oxford." Its focus, however, extends well beyond the borders of the British Isles and the United States. John Thomas contributed an essay, "Kossuth,"

which is a lionization of Louis Kossuth, the public official, orator and leader of the Hungarian Revolution of 1848-49.[162] A professor W.G. Allen contributed an essay, "Placido" about the Cuban poet, also known as Gabriel de la Concepción Valdés. Often misidentified as an enslaved person (as Allen does, 180), Placido was sentenced to death for his alleged involvement in an anti-slavery uprising known as the "Ladder Conspiracy."[163] Finally, James McCune Smith contributes an essay titled, "John Murray (of Glasgow)" (46).[164] Murray, who had recently died, was the longtime secretary of the Glasgow Emancipation Society. In the midst of recounting Murray's abolitionists activities, Smith does not shy away from Scotland's longtime reliance on slavery: "twenty odd years ago, it was no trifling matter to do anti-slavery work in Glasgow, the very name of whose stateliest streets proclaimed that they were built by money wrung out of the blood and sweat of the negroes of Jamaica, St. Vincent, &c" (48). Douglass's *The Heroic Slave,* within this transnational collection, circulates as more than a narrative about an American slave who started a rebellion at sea and started a protracted legal battle between the United States and Great Britain. Rather, it is part of a larger narrative that suggests the abolition of slavery is (or should be) a global concern.

Within months of Douglass's arrival in the British Isles he was seen, and began to see himself, as a transnational figure. As both Levine in *The Lives of Frederick Douglass* and Fionnghuala Sweeney in *Frederick Douglass and the Atlantic World* have demonstrated, the Dublin editions of Douglass's *Narrative* with the inclusion of new paratexts served to quickly "make the *Narrative* a more transatlantic text under his own editorial control" (Levine 80). Douglass's letters that appeared in Garrison's *The Liberator* also served to position Douglass as a transatlantic traveler. Pettinger recounts Douglass's central role in the "Send Back the Money" campaign but ultimately reminds readers that the effort was essentially a failure; despite the large

crowds who gathered to hear Douglass speak on the topic, and their willingness to join in his chants to "send back the money," no evidence exists that the Free Church of Scotland ever returned any of the money they collected from the American South (87). However, by adopting the "Send Back the Money" campaign, Douglass not only envisioned himself but also, in fact, became influential in transnational efforts. It is easy to imagine Douglass becoming critical of the Free Church of Scotland had he remained in the United States, lashing out at the Southern slave-owners' hypocrisy of purporting to uphold Christian values both at home and abroad (by contributing to the Free Church) while also participating in and maintaining the violent system of slavery. However, being physically present in Scotland gave Douglass the bold ability to insert himself (for the first time) in an international debate, to be critical of the very country that was hosting him.

Douglass's efforts did exert some influence, or at least acknowledgement, within the very institutions he was critiquing. The 1846 publication, *The Free Church of Scotland and American Slavery*, includes an appendix with "the deliverances of the Free Church on the subject of slavery, 1844, 1845, 1846, and other valuable documents." Douglass is honored in several resolutions, which were "unanimously adopted" (Thompson 5).[165] One resolution proposes "the cordial thanks of this meeting be presented to Frederick Douglass, the representative and advocate of three millions of American slaves" (Thompson 6). The resolution continues with an exhortation for the United States to abolish slavery. This resolution is followed by: "in the opinion of this meeting, it is the duty of the Free Church of Scotland to Send back the Money received from American slave-holders, in order to bear an upright and christian [*sic*] testimony against the crime of American slavery" (6). Ultimately, Douglass's involvement in the "Send Back the Money" campaign is significant because it signals a shift away from Douglass solely

pleading his own case and the case of enslaved blacks in the United States and levying criticism against lawmakers and people in positions of power in the United States, to attempting to (and succeeding on some level) influence institutions in another country, namely Scotland.

Douglass's physical journey to the British Isles began to shape him as an international spokesperson for the abolitionist cause, something we see further developed in the transnational context in which *The Heroic Slave* appears when circulated along with the other works included in *Autographs for Freedom.* *The Heroic Slave* can be read, as noted above, as Douglass's rejection of Garrisonian nonviolence, but his veneration of the "noble Madison Washington" in his 1847 "Farewell Speech to the British People" is not a full endorsement of violent rebellion. Granted, Pettinger demonstrates that "the only times during his overseas trip that Douglass spells out the non-violent Garrisonian position are during the late summer and early autumn when Garrison is touring the country with him, if not always in his presence" (242). However, Douglass's public mention of Washington in his "Farewell Speech" is as much about Daniel Webster and the political machinations of politicians as it is about Washington's rebellion itself.[166] The passage bears quoting in full:

> When Mr. Webster says, fiercely, [i]f you do not give back Madison Washington—the noble Madison Washington, who broke his fetters on the deck of the Creole, achieved liberty for himself and one hundred and thirty-five others, and took refuge within your dominions—when this proud statesman tells you, that if you do not send this noble Negro back to chains and slavery, he will go to war with you, do not be alarmed; he does not mean any such thing. Let him alone; he will find some way—some diplomatic stratagem almost inscrutable to the eyes of common men—by which to take back every syllable he has said. (71-72)

Even though his audience was well aware that John R. Hewell, a hired agent on the slave ship, the *Creole*, was killed during the uprising, Douglass elides mention of violence in his speech, opting instead to describe Washington as one who "achieved liberty for himself". Equally significant is that Douglass's praise of Washington is couched between references to Webster, suggesting that the legal issues surrounding the rebellion are as important as the fact that blacks successfully overcame whites in a violent bid for their freedom. Douglass sounds very much like a pacifist in 1847, reassuring his British audience that this incident will not lead to war between Britain and the United States. While critical of Webster's techniques, Douglass also (perhaps unintentionally) reaffirms a belief that the legal system, for better or for worse, is a system that men in power can use to exert their will.

When Douglass renders Washington in historical fiction, he includes the death of white men onboard the *Creole*, killing off not only an agent but the captain of the ship as well. This turn towards an acceptance of violence as one of the tools to abolish slavery is also seen when Douglass's novella circulates in the British version of *Autographs for Freedom.* Julia Griffiths writes a rather innocuous preface for the American edition, which also appears in the British edition. Griffiths offers *Autographs* as a means of comfort:

> Should this publication be instrumental in casting *one* ray of hope on the heart of one poor slave, or should it draw the attention of one person, hitherto uninterested to the deep wrongs of the bondman, or cause one sincere and earnest effort to promote emancipation, we believe that the kind contributors, who have generously responded to our call, not less than the members of our Society will feel themselves gratified and compensated. (iii-iv)

By way of contrast, in the "Preface to the English Edition," the unnamed writer hints at the violence that may be visited upon the United States if slavery is not eradicated: "there exists not a doubt, that, sooner or later, all the wrongs [slavery] has caused will be atoned for by a terrible social convulsion, if not remedied by the timely and peaceful concession of the rights of the negro race" (vi). "Social convulsion" is not the same as predicting war but it does imply violence, especially when coupled with the word "atoned" which, if read in a Judeo-Christian context, usually applies to sacrifice, which almost always requires bloodshed.[167]

In a cryptic note to a friend, William Cooper Nell, the "black Garrisonian," wrote that *Autographs for Freedom* was an "'anti-Garrison' creation by the 'F.D. with J.G. contingent'" (Blight 225). Yet, if *Autographs* was indeed intended to serve as a corrective against a whole-hearted endorsement of nonviolent moral suasion, then Douglass's *The Heroic Slave* was far from the most inflammatory text in the collection. This distinction belongs to George W. Perkins who wrote an essay for *Autographs* titled "Can Slaves Rightfully Resist and Fight?" While, throughout the essay, Perkins claims he cannot answer this question, he links the plight of enslaved blacks to those who began the American Revolution:

> Christian men, ministers in their pulpits, strenuously argued that it was men's *duty* to fight for liberty, and to kill those who opposed them. Prayer was offered to God for success in this process of resistance and blood; and good men implored and obtained help from other nations, to complete the work of resistance to oppression, and death to the oppressors. (28)

Perkins's choice to associate enslaved blacks with Revolutionary figures was both shrewd and in line with black leaders who understood the power of such associations. As Carter Jackson contends: "The revolutionary rhetoric and force deployed by the Founding Fathers offered black

abolitionists an opportunity to present themselves as equal men whose struggle mirrored that of American revolutionaries" (12). Douglass played on associations with Madison Washington's name as early as 1845 when delivering a speech in Cork, Ireland. He told his audience that Madison Washington "had in imitation of *George Washington* gained liberty" ("American Prejudice Against Color" 114). He then pointed to the hypocrisy of the way Madison Washington was branded "a thief, robber and murderer" leaving unstated the reality of how George Washington was venerated by EuroAmericans for similar behavior. Douglass does acknowledge the use of violence in revolutions but he is careful to only recount bloodshed enacted within the confines of the American Revolutionary War: "Indeed my friends those very Americans are indebted to us for their own liberty at the present time, the first blood that gushed at Lexington, at the battle of Worcester, and Bunker Hill" (115). Douglass leaves his audience to make any connections between the necessity of bloodshed and freedom on their own. The Rev. Perkins, on the other hand, leaves his readers no doubt what he is suggesting: "I only say that *if* it was right to do so in 1776, it is also right to do the same in 1852. *If* the light oppressions which the men of the last century endured justified war and bloodshed, then oppressions ten thousand times worse would surely justify revolt and blood" (31).[168]

In addition to Douglass's measured stance towards the use of violence in the cause against chattel slavery, the choices Douglass made within the framework of a fictional piece allowed him to endorse the ideas that it was EuroAmericans' duty, as much as it was blacks', to fight against the enslavement of human beings in ways that the historical account of Washington do not. Fiction, in general, and fictionalizing Madison Washington's story, in particular, was an effective approach for Douglass. By employing Listwell, a character Douglass created for his

novella, as a sympathetic white, who becomes an abolitionist by listening to Washington bear his soul about the horrors of slavery, as Stepto explains:

> Douglass spins three primary narrative threads: one is the storyteller/slave's journey to freedom; another is the storylistener/abolitionist's journey to service; the third is the resolution or consummation of purposeful human brotherhood between slave and abolitionist, as it may be most particularly achieved through the communal aesthetic of storytelling. (365)

And, as Ira Dworkin asserts, "although *The Heroic Slave* highlights the importance of rhetoric to the abolitionist movement, the import of physical rebellion is inescapable in the novella" (xiv). In addition to using an imaginative work in order to make points about ways whites could more actively engage in the abolitionist movement, fiction also allowed Douglass to retell a story about violence being used in the pursuit of freedom without appearing to wholeheartedly endorse murder as a means of freeing oneself. By fracturing his narrative, ending Part III with Listwell watching Washington's ship, the *Creole,* leaving port, and picking up the narrative in Part IV, after the rebellion has already taken place, "Douglass spares his readers the pools of blood on the deck of the *Creole.* Fiction seems to have allowed for artistic control over the rage within" (Blight 251). Or, as Larry J. Reynolds suggests, "Douglass's fictional portrayal of the 1841 revolt on the *Creole* obscures its violence by having events related after the fact by a fictional white first mate who was unconscious when the killings onboard occurred" (87). Douglass is also able to reshape (or even obscure) the historical aftermath of the *Creole* rebellion, namely that the British government ultimately compensated the former owners of the enslaved persons onboard. Douglass, then, "offered a literary brief declaring victory for the rebel slaves. From

this perspective, he emphasized that fiction was more effective than law in representing the truth of the *Creole* affair" (Levine, Stauffer, and McKivigan xvi).

While use of fiction allowed Douglass to reshape the narrative in ways that better suited his worldview, the novella's framing is as much wrapped in a white envelope as is the first U.S. edition of Douglass's *Narrative.* Douglass's use of fiction does "give Washington the voice that dominates the novella" (Levine, Stauffer, and McKivigan xxx) in ways that the historical record does not; however, the reader views Washington primarily through the lens of the white Listwell for the first half of the text, and the second half is given over to a complete white-centric point-of-view in which Washington is referred to only in the past tense. This is particularly evident when *The Heroic Slave* is read in comparison to William Wells Brown's "Slave Revolt at Sea," which he includes in his collection titled, *The Negro in the American Rebellion* (1867). Just as William Wells Brown's John Brown narrative highlights the participation of blacks in the Harpers Ferry raid, his Madison Washington narrative focuses only on Washington and the other blacks involved in Washington's escape, capture, and rebellion.

The most compelling part of William Wells Brown's narrative is his description of how Washington was able to free himself of his manacles aboard the *Creole.* Douglass's fictional account seems crafted to encourage whites to offer prayers, money, and practical tools towards the cause of liberating enslaved people in the United States. Shortly before the *Creole* set sail, Douglass writes that Listwell "stept into a hardware store and purchased three strong *files.* These he took with him, and standing near the small boat, which lay in waiting to bear the company by parcels to the side of the brig that lay in the stream, he managed, as Madison passed him, to slip the files into his pocket, and at once darted back among the crowd" (*Heroic* 40). Brown, on the other hand, offers another explanation: "Madison had also provided himself with files, saws, and

other implements, with which to cut his way out of any prison into which he might be cast. These instruments were so small as to be easily concealed in the lining of his clothing; and, armed with them, the fugitive felt sure he should escape again were he ever captured" (*The Negro* 16). And, Brown informs his readers that once Washington was imprisoned on board the *Creole*, "The miniature saws and files were faithfully used when the whites were asleep" (18). In Brown's version of the narrative, Washington does not need assistance from a white benefactor in order to equip himself with tools for escape. Douglass's choices, while admirable in their encouragement of whites to take action against chattel slavery, also undercut the agency of enslaved blacks in their own struggle for freedom.

Perhaps Douglass chose to have the white Listwell be the purveyor of the tools Washington used to free himself and others (which then led to violence), because of Douglass's growing friendship with John Brown. Douglass first met Brown in 1848 and, in the ensuing years, as their paths frequently crossed, "Douglass moved toward at least open support of violent means[;] the two abolitionists spent many hours and days in each other's company. As Douglass came within John Brown's orbit of religious fervor and theories of violent resistance, Douglass listened even as he was sometimes repelled" (Blight 281). Douglass recounts his first meeting with Brown in the 11 February 1848 edition of the *North Star,* a recounting that specifically notes that Brown is white. Douglass writes:

> The most interesting part of my visit to Springfield, was a private interview with Mr. Brown, Mr. Van Rensselaer and Mr. Washington. The first of these, though a white gentleman, is in sympathy a black man, and is as deeply interested in our cause, as though his own soul had been pierced with the iron of slavery. After shaking my hand with a grip peculiar to Anti-Slavery men, Mr. Brown said that

> for many years he had been standing by the great sea of American bondmen, and anxiously watching for some true men to rise above its dark level, possessing the energy of head and heart to demand freedom for their whole people, and congratulated myself and the cause, that he now saw much men rising in all directions, the result of which, he knew, must be the downfall of slavery.
>
> Mr. Brown is one of the most earnest and interesting men that I have met in a long time. ("Editorial Correspondence")

While this meeting predates Brown's use of violence in Bleeding Kansas and Harpers Ferry, it is evident from this account, that Douglass sees employing the aid of whites sympathetic to the cause of abolition is as important as the measures blacks take on their own.

Years later, in *Life and Times of Frederick Douglass* (1881), Douglass recounts visiting John Brown at Brown's home. Douglass is, of course, living in a vastly different world than he was in the late 1840s when the visit first occurred—slavery in the United States had ended and John Brown had been dead for over twenty years. Yet, even accounting for how the passage of time may shape the autobiographer's memory, the passages about Brown's arguments for use of violence are stark in comparison to Douglass's letter written during his first visit to Scotland in which his "soul sickens at the thought" of "bloody deeds" and from which he turned "with disgust and shame" (Pettinger 272). Comparing these two accounts gives us a glimpse of how Douglass vacillated between being repulsed by the idea of violence and seeing it as a necessary method for ending slavery. Douglass recounts that Brown's "plan did contemplate the creating of an armed force which should act in the very heart of the south. He was not averse to the shedding of blood, and thought the practice of carrying arms would be a good one for the colored

people to adopt, as it would give them a sense of their manhood" (*Life and Times* 280). After presenting the conversation he had with Brown, Douglass writes:

> From this night spent with John Brown in Springfield, Mass., 1847, while I continued to write and speak against slavery, I became all the same less hopeful of its peaceful abolition. My utterances became more and more tinged by the color of this man's strong impressions. Speaking at an anti-slavery convention in Salem, Ohio, I expressed this apprehension that slavery could only be destroyed by blood-shed. (282)

In a move that seems designed to underscore his commitment to violent methods, Douglass includes Sojourner Truth's rebuke of "Frederick, is God dead?" to which Douglass responded in the negative: "because God is not dead slavery can only end in blood" (282). Later in this same chapter, as Douglass recounts sheltering fugitive slaves in his home in Rochester, he writes: "Had they been pursued then and there, my home would have been stained with blood" (288). The three men he was sheltering had killed and wounded other men in their escape and so the implication is that they would have had nothing to lose in using violence if they were pursued. His phrasing suggests that Douglass would not only allow them to use violence, but would also be willing to use violence himself, if drawn into the fray. Douglass saw a bit of himself in an "heroic slave" employing violence.

Savages and Civilization

Tracing Douglass's equivocations regarding the use of violence as a legitimate means of resisting enslavement, or assisting those who were enslaved, gives us a helpful lens through which to consider Douglass's works; however, it seems that, for Douglass, the use of violence whether in self-defense or for political purposes was a necessary evil. Douglass believed in

progress—in human development, in ideologies, in technologies, in social structures—and discussions of progress in the nineteenth century inevitably led to Scottish Enlightenment thinking and the savage/civilized dichotomy. For Douglass, like many throughout the history of North America and the British Isles, the "savage" was associated with violence. Stauffer, in *The Black Hearts of Men*, traces the relationship between Douglass, James McCune Smith, Gerrit Smith and John Brown, suggesting one of the ways each of these men viewed the use of violence as an effective approach against oppression was through identification with Native Americans:

> They identified with the Indian as a symbol of the savage fighter par excellence, who rejected white laws and civilization and found hope, strength, and courage from the wilderness and the Great Spirit in Nature. Their revolutionary ethos was closely linked to their embrace of the symbolic Indian, their understanding of manhood, their sacred visions of America, and their acceptance of savage means to fight slavery. (183)

The interesting move, however, Stauffer makes is to suggest that these four men attempted to conflate savage and civilized worlds: "They justified and accepted savagery as a means of vanquishing slavery and thus advancing civilization" (183). While this idea certainly seems to fit Douglass's persona when he is publically endorsing John Brown or the American Civil War, the idea that Douglass embraced savagery is contrary to the ways Douglass most often uses the word "savage" throughout his works.

Douglass often associated the word "savage" with Native Americans and, even in the cases where he used it more generically, it held negative connotations for him.[169] Prior to Harriet Beecher Stowe's own international travels, she invited Douglass to her home at ask his advice regarding funds she was set to receive in the British Isles; specifically, how she could use the

financial windfall from the success of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* in order to help African Americans in the United States. Once Douglass and Stowe agreed that something akin to an "industrial college" would benefit black Americans most (a plan that never came to fruition), Stowe asked Douglass to write her a letter of introduction for her British benefactors that would explain their newly devised plan. In the midst of this otherwise powerful letter, Douglass makes an argument that sounds very much like an endorsement of stadial theory: "The black man (*un*like the Indian) loves civilization. He does not make very great progress in civilization himself but he likes to be in the midst of it, and prefers to share its most galling evils, to encountering barbarism" (*Life and Times* 293). A few lines later, Douglass also implies that blacks in African countries are less civilized than blacks in the United States, when he argues an "Industrial College" would benefit black Americans "where they can be put in possession of the means of getting a living whether their lot in after life may be cast among civilized or uncivilized men; whether they choose to stay here, or prefer to return to the land of their fathers" (293). The parallel structure of this phrase equates "civilized" with those who "choose to stay" in the United States, and "uncivilized" with those who "return to the land of their father," presumably Africa.

Douglass uses the Indian/savage dyad in 1850 in a lecture titled "Inhumanity of Slavery" (which he also includes in the appendix to *My Bondage and My Freedom*). In this comparison, however, Douglass suggests slaveholders are even worse than savages. Douglass writes:

> The slave finds more of the milk of human kindness in the bosom of the savage Indian, than in the heart of his *christian* [*sic*] master. He leaves the man of the *bible*, and takes refuge with the man of the *tomahawk.* He rushes from the praying slaveholder into the paws of the bear. He quits the homes of men for the haunts of wolves. He prefers to encounter a life of trial, however bitter, or death,

> however terrible, to dragging out his existence under the dominion of these *kind* masters. (436).

As Stauffer reminds us, Douglass "identified with symbolic Indians and savagery" (189) rather than actual indigenous people of North America, so this passage reads as a rhetorical device rather than an expression of any experiences Douglass himself may have had. And, while the passage suggests positive attributes of Native Americans—i.e. an enslaved person can find at least a modicum of "the milk of human kindness in the bosom" of an Indian—the attributes seem to operate more as a foil to Christian whites who are slave owners. Douglass establishes a hierarchy here built on Enlightenment thinking: the savage state is the lowest state one can occupy in the mind of many nineteenth-century thinkers; therefore, he asks his audience to imagine a class of people whose actions place them below this lowest of the established low—the American slaveholder. Douglass's use of a stadial view of humans, in this instance, is an effective rhetorical device aimed at demonstrating the hypocrisy of so-called Christian slaveholders; however, the device works only at the expense of Native Americans.

The examples listed above all predate the American Civil War, before most nineteenth-century Americans understood what warfare looked like on a broad scale. Douglass certainly had firsthand knowledge of the sustained violence inherent in the institution of slavery but he had not experienced the sudden carnage that occurred on the battlefield. Examining his use of the savage/civilized dichotomy once the war began, especially in the aforementioned lectures he gave between 1861 and 1864 related to "pictures," reveals some of Douglass's most pronounced endorsements of Scottish Enlightenment thinking. In "Pictures and Progress" Douglass delivers an extended meditation on what separates the savage from the civilized:

> The savage, accustomed only to the wild and discordant war whoop of his tribe, whose only music comes to him from winds, waterfalls, and the weird sounds of the pathless forest, discovers a new place in his heart, a purer and deeper depth in his soul, the first time his ear is saluted by the divine harmonies of scientific music. To know man civilized we must study him as savage. We are all savages in childhood. And men, we are told, are only children of a larger growth. The life of society is analogous to the life of individual men. It passes through the same gradations of progress. California was not Massachusetts at the first and is not now. She was savage even in the manifestation of her justice. Not that which is spiritual is first, but that which is natural. After that, that which is spiritual. (159)[170]

Stauffer uses a truncated version of the larger quote above: "To know man civilized we must study him as a savage . . . We are all savages in childhood . . . And men . . . are only children of a larger growth" (184) as support for the idea that for Douglass "savagery was not something to be shunned; rather, it needed to be controlled and harnessed" (184). However, if we view the quote in its entirety, Douglass expresses several different ideas about what it means to be "savage." The first use of the word is clearly in reference to indigenous people, as Douglass uses the stereotypical language of "wild and discordant war whoop." This imaginary savage, Douglass claims, only knows the music of the natural world and has his wildness tamed when he hears "the divine harmonies of scientific music"—i.e., music made by, presumably, civilized people.

As the passage continues, however, Douglass, moves away from thinking of savage applying only to indigenous or ancient people, arguing the savage and the civilized resides in all people: "To know man civilized we must study him as a savage" and by "man" he means

(presumably) all people—"We are all savages in childhood." Here, Douglass accelerates the stadial view of history, compressing the idea that over geological time, humans progressed from savage states to civilized states. He argues, instead, that the process (potentially) occurs within one individual's lifetime. Douglass's thought process moves quickly in this passage because, without further reflection on what it might mean that "We are all savages in childhood," he applies the savage/civilized dichotomy to States—i.e. Massachusetts is more civilized than California. However, rather than viewing this passage, as Stauffer suggests, as a call to suppress the savage state inherent in the human condition, Douglass suggests the savage state is something humans should outgrow. Progressing past a childish, savage state leads to "that which is spiritual" (159). This idea that all humans are born into a savage state and, ideally, they progress towards a spiritual state is one George Copway proposes as a central defining characteristic of his narrative. The first half of his autobiography, *Recollections of a Forest Life*, is a recounting of how he was born into a savage state and became a civilized Christian. Douglass, like Copway and countless other nineteenth-century writers, adopts the language of the conversion narrative.

In addition to applying a savage/civilized dichotomy to human development, Douglass also suggests in "Pictures and Progress" that civilization can be worn as a disguise of sorts, concealing the savage that lies within some people, even as adults. Referring to the work of Alexander von Humboldt, who traveled the Americas in the early part of the nineteenth century, Douglass writes: "Humboldt tells of savage tribes of men, remote from commerce and civilizations, who nevertheless had coats and other garments, after European patterns, painted on their skin" ("Pictures" 158).[171] Douglass uses "savage" again in the next paragraph but not to refer to people located in a specific geographic location: "The savage is not the only man nor is

savage society the only society dressed out in a painted coat and other habiliments" ("Pictures" 158). Douglass suggests that fooling one's self by painting one's skin so as to appear that they are wearing a coat is not limited to "savages" but rather, "examples are all around us. Church and state, religion and patriotism, refinement and learning, manners and morals, all have their counterfeit presentments in paint. You often meet coarse and vulgar persons dressed in the painted appearance of ladies and gentlemen—a slight touch removes the paint and discloses their true character and the class to which they belong" (158). In this case, Douglass moves from a problematic endorsement of the idea that indigenous people are savage to the idea that savage/civilized is related to class. And, in Douglass's estimation, hypocritical people ("dressed in . . . painted appearance") are the worst type of people one can encounter in life. The image inverts the Robert Burns anecdote, "Worth Makes the Man," discussed above. Burns encouraged his companion not to judge someone by their rustic clothing, while Douglass encourages his readers to be wary of those dressed with paint and powder. The message both Burns and Douglass share, however, is the same: the true value of a human is often hidden to the naked eye.

While Douglass's thoughts on savagery appear more nuanced than simply a state that must be suppressed until violence is called for to fight for a just cause, I do think, as Stauffer suggests (184), that much of Douglass's work adheres to Slotkin's theory of "regeneration through violence." Slotkin, of course, was thinking of conflicts between seventeenth-century English settlers in North America who saw conflicts with, and captivity by, Indians as opportunities "for purgation and renewal" (56). Many English viewed these as tests from God that, if survived, made them stronger members of the white communities to which they returned. However, Slotkin's "literary mythology" also applies to Douglass's own experiences with violence. Slotkin argued that when people of disparate backgrounds attempt to inhabit the same

spaces, violence always occurs. Enslaved people, of course, were not simply attempting to occupy a certain geographic region; they were arguing for the freedom to move around any space. Yet, as we view the narratives Douglass creates, both fiction and nonfiction alike, he does often present violence, as Slotkin phrases it, as "the center of the story" (52).

In the oft-quoted portion of Douglass's recounting of his epic battle with the slave breaker Mr. Covey, which Douglass first recounts in his *Narrative,* we see Douglass espouse the idea that he was regenerated through a violent interaction with one who perpetuated violence himself. Douglass writes:

> The battle with Mr. Covey was the turning-point in my career as a slave. It rekindled the few expiring embers of freedom, and revived within me a sense of my own manhood. It recalled the departed self-confidence, and inspired me again with a determination to be free. The gratification afforded by the triumph was a full compensation for whatever else might follow, even death itself. He only can understand the deep satisfaction which I experienced, who has himself repelled by force the bloody arm of slavery. I felt as I never felt before. It was a glorious resurrection, from the tomb of slavery, to the heaven of freedom. My long-crushed spirit rose, cowardice departed, bold defiance took its place; and I now resolved that, however long I might remain a slave in form, the day had passed forever when I could be a slave in fact. (72-73).

In addition to Douglass's regeneration ("It was a glorious resurrection"), the recounting of this scene, as it appears midway through the *Narrative*, is literally "the center of the story."

Douglass's introduction to audiences at home and abroad (and arguably the only Douglass most readers have encountered since that time) is a Douglass whose most significant

life experience was (re)born of violence. Later in life, however, Douglass gives an alternate, more peaceful thought on the idea of resurrection when delivering his "Lecture on Pictures" (1861). He writes: "Men talk much of a new birth. The fact is fundamental. But the mistake is in treating it as an incident which can only happen to a man once in a lifetime; whereas the whole journey of life is a succession of them. A new life springs up in the soul with the discovery of every new agency by which the soul is raised to a higher level of wisdom: goodness and joy" (122). Ultimately, the older Douglass, with a wealth of experiences behind him, no longer considered a violent interaction with a slave-breaker as the most defining moment of his life.

Progress through Unification

One of the most formative experiences in Douglass's life, as I have discussed throughout this chapter, was international travel. And even though, as indicated above, Douglass's second journey to Scotland and England in late 1859 and early 1860 was truncated, he does deliver a compelling speech during this second trip: "The Constitution of the United States: Is It Pro-Slavery or Antislavery?" (26 March 1860). This speech was a direct response to George Thompson, who Douglass calls "the City Hall Speaker." Thompson, Scotland's most prominent Garrisonian abolitionist, had criticized Douglass's support of the United States Constitution, which was, of course, in direct conflict with Garrison. The speech signals Douglass's ongoing efforts to distinguish himself from Garrison, an effort that began shortly after Douglass arrived in the British Isles in 1845. However, the U.S. Constitution seems an odd topic to deliver to a crowd of Scots, even if it was being delivered on Thompson's home turf. It is a choice, though, that mirrors Douglass's "Send Back the Money" campaign that he leveled against the Free Church of Scotland fourteen years prior. By addressing the topic of the U.S. Constitution, while

standing on Scotland's soil, Douglass is not simply pleading his case for enslaved men and women; he is reminding his audience that slavery in the United States is an international concern, and Scots should understand what the U.S. Constitution does, and does not say, about slavery.

The importance of protecting the U.S. Constitution and a "united" States (without slavery) was vital to Douglass's worldview because he understood that abandoning the founding principles of the United States could leave blacks even more disenfranchised than they already were. Starting a nation from scratch was a venture that Douglass feared would (once again) favor only EuroAmericans. Douglass's disagreement with Garrisonians might also explain why Douglass ultimately rejected John Brown's invitation to join him at Harpers Ferry.[172] The explanation that Douglass was wise enough to see Brown's plan was doomed to fail is certainly a contributing factor in Douglass's decision. However, a potential turning point in Douglass's relationship with Brown is that, prior to his raid, Brown wrote his "Provisional Constitution," "which he intended to put in place as an interim government in Virginia if his invasion succeeded," while staying with the Douglass family (Blight 296). One might argue that Douglass disapproved of Brown's plan for reckless violence as much as he disapproved of the idea that the new community Brown envisioned would include a new constitution—one of the very things Douglass rejected in Garrisonian abolitionism. Blight writes "Notably, neither Douglass nor any of the New England backers of Brown's crusade attended" the convention in Chatham Canada (297). Douglass himself describes the time Brown spent at his house preparing for the convention and writing the constitution this way: "He called his friends from Chatham (Canada) to come together that he might lay his constitution before them, for their approval and adoption. His whole time and thought were given to this subject. It was the first thing in the morning and the last thing at night, till I confess it began to be something of a bore to me" (*Life*

and Times 320). Reynolds notes that "Douglass at the time was seeking social respectability and political influence[;] Brown cared nothing about either" (107), which provides another potential reason Douglass refused to join the raid: Brown, as a white man, had the privilege of moving through the world without "social respectability and political influence" while Douglass understood the only way he could affect change as a black man was to cultivate the very things Brown rejected. Douglass was not looking to replace the U.S. Constitution, but rather for the promises of the document to be fulfilled.

The importance of maintaining a "united" States of America was still a priority for Douglass after the American Civil War began. In his "Lecture on Pictures" (1861), Douglass veers from the topic of discussing "pictures," and directly addresses his grievances about the war. About the debate over the constitution, Douglass writes:

> The pretense that the Constitution stands in the way of [our] abolition plan for putting [down] the rebels is but a miserable pretense. Slavery has never been large enough to get itself named in the Constitution; but if every line and syllable of the Constitution contained an explicit prohibition of the abolition of slavery, the right of the nation to abolish slavery would still exist in full force, since the right to preserve itself from dissolution is before all laws—and is the foundation and authority of all laws and government. ("Lecture on Pictures" 128)

The "right to preserve itself from dissolution" indicates that, in Douglass's mind, whatever else the Civil War may bring, preserving a "united" States without slavery is of upmost importance.

While Douglass never wavered, after his break from Garrison, on the issues of maintaining the Union, in the aforementioned "The Constitution" speech, Douglass asserts the privilege of changing one's mind on issues. In Thompson's critique of Douglass, he referenced a

speech Douglass delivered fourteen years prior that suggested Douglass was now contradicting himself. Douglass retorts: "Reference was made at the City Hall to my having once held other opinions, and very different opinions to those I have now expressed. An old speech of mine delivered fourteen years ago was read to show—I know not what" (389). What Douglass wants his audience to understand, in 1860, is that the United States should not be destroyed along with the institution of slavery:

> My argument against the dissolution of the American Union is this: It would place the slave system more exclusively under the control of the slaveholding States, and withdraw it from the power in the Northern States which is opposed to slavery. Slavery is essentially barbarous in its character. It, above all things else, dreads the presence of an advanced civilisation." (388)

Douglass confronts the myth that had circulated for over a hundred years among many white Americans who opposed slavery: the idea that eventually chattel slavery would die out on its own as an institution. Douglass's own life, coupled with the legal and political maneuverings that continued to favor slave-owners, demonstrated that without the efforts of abolitionism, slavery would remain intact in the United States.

That Douglass is arguing against the dissolution of the United States, making his case that barbarous behavior impedes civilization, while standing on Scottish soil, evokes the history of Scotland and the 1707 Act of Union. How conscious Douglass was of the 1707 Act of Union, which began the process of homogenizing the distinctness of England and the distinctness of Scotland into one United Kingdom is uncertain. However, if among the works of Walter Scott's that Douglass read and admired was Scott's aforementioned *Tales of a Grandfather; Being Stories Taken from Scottish History*, then this text would have provided Douglass with an

admittedly simplified, but succinct, summary of the history of merging England with Scotland. Scott's opening chapter "How Scotland and England came to be separate Kingdoms" makes clear distinctions between these two countries: the land in England is "much richer, and produces better crops . . . the people are more wealthy, and have better food and clothing" (7). Scotland, on the other hand, is "full of hills, and huge moors and wildernesses, which bear no corn, and afford but little food for flocks of sheep or herds of cattle" (8). While Scott ostensibly is describing the nations as they existed long ago, his use of the present tense suggests that these things were still true in the nineteenth century. Despite their differences, however, Scott neatly describes the unification of the two nations as thus: "Accordingly, about two hundred years ago, the King of Scotland becoming the King of England, as I shall tell you in another part of this book, the two nations have ever since then been joined in one great kingdom, which is called Great Britain" (8-9). Scott continues: "But, before this happy union of England and Scotland, there were many long, cruel, and bloody wars, between the two nations" (9). Scott's short history reinforces the idea that the more wild and rustic land and presumably, the people who inhabited such land, were subsumed by the more civilized country of England. Scott also suggests that the "bloody wars" fought by those who perhaps desired no such union are all in the past and the "happy" present belongs to the residents of "one great kingdom."

In the later part of Douglass's life, he would see progress as leaving behind savage natures (and people presumed to be savage), minimizing differences between groups of people, and reducing geographic distances between people. His transatlantic travels afforded him a more expansive view of the world and, by 1859, he began describing the distance between the United States and Europe as almost nonexistent. As he writes to his "American Readers and Friends," prior to embarking on his second voyage to the British Isles in November 1859: "In ordinary

conditions, considering the rapidity, safety and certainty with which a journey is now made to Europe—almost converting the two continents into one—a simple voyage from America to Great Britain would not seem to warrant a very ceremonious and formal parting" ("My American Readers and Friends"). Douglass insisted that his trip to the British Isles had been planned for months, and he is not simply fleeing the federal government who is pursuing him after Harpers Ferry. In this light, his assertion that a transatlantic trip is hardly something to note seems like an attempt to diminish the very real danger he faced had he not left the United States. However, in light of his writings after this point, his imaginative collapsing of "the two continents into one" foreshadows how Douglass envisioned the progression of society without the need for violence.

In "Pictures and Progress," Douglass combines what he views as progress with the wonders that the art of photography had rendered: "Steam has shortened the distance across the ocean, but a voyage is unnecessary to look at Europe. We can see Paris without the steamship, and St. Peters without visiting Rome. You have but to cross the parlor to see both, and with them all the wonders of European architecture, which by the way is about all that the traveler sees abroad that he could not see at home" ("Pictures" 155). Had Douglass never traveled abroad, one might read Douglass's words as uniformed and nationalistic—i.e. travel abroad is unnecessary when the best things are in the United States.[173] Certainly what he "saw," especially during his first trip to the British Isles, was a place where chattel slavery did not exist and where, while he still encountered racism and discrimination, he was treated with a modicum of respect he did not often encounter in the United States. He saw the "free hills of old Scotland" ("Letter" 85) and landscapes "rendered classic by heroic deeds in behalf of Freedom" (Dick n.p.). That Douglass would be so flippant as to assert there wasn't much to see if one traveled abroad

suggests how enamored he had become with technological advances: photography had literally transformed the way nineteenth-century people could view the world.

Throughout his three lectures on pictures—"Lecture on Pictures" (1861), "Age of Pictures" (1862), and "Pictures and Progress" (1864)—Douglass constantly defines what progress, presumably without the threat of violence, should entail. In "Lecture on Pictures," Douglass uses the natural world as a model for progress. He writes: "He who despairs of progress despises the hope of the world, and shuts himself out from the chief significance of assistance—and is dead while he lives. Great nature herself, whether viewed in connection or apart from man, is in its manifold operations a picture of progress and a constant rebuke to [the] moral stagnation of conservatism" (130). Douglass then creates "a picture of progress" with words, asking his listeners to imagine a stagnant world, where heavenly bodies no longer move across the sky, oceans remain still, the sky is filled with perpetual darkness and storm. In the closing paragraphs, Douglass makes a breathtaking flourish, delivering descriptions of the fecundity of the natural world, recounting nineteenth-century technological advances, and arguing that such progression is necessary that "Material progress may for a time be separated from moral progress. But the two cannot be permanently divorced" (130). Once humans' basic needs are met, Douglass argues "let all the subtle enemies of the welfare of man, in the protean shape of oppression, priestcraft [*sic*], and slavery—plainly read their doom" (131). Progress, of course, has always been linked, in many people's minds, to advancements in technology, and new technologies often shape and drive commerce. Douglass's affinity for emerging technologies brings us full circle to the Scottish Enlightenment and Adam Smith's view that the history of humans can viewed as a progression through stages: hunters, shepherds, and farmers ultimately must give way to people who operate within economies of commerce.

Douglass, like many of his nineteenth-century contemporaries, not only experienced the vast advances in technology, he relished them, harnessed them for his own purposes: the ability to cross the Atlantic Ocean so quickly that Douglass suggests the two continents might as well be one, allowed him to place distance between himself and those who wished to enslave him in 1845 and again in 1860; international travel also allowed him to earn a living lecturing to new audiences, and selling them his autobiography and, of course, the printing press gave him an additional occupation when he began his own newspaper. And yet, all of this progress came with a cost that did not seem to concern Douglass. By way of concluding "Lecture on Pictures," Douglass evokes the steam engine:

> The increased facilities of locomotion, the growing inter-communication of distant nations, the rapid transmission of intelligence over the globe—the worldwide ramification of commerce—bringing together the knowledge, the skill, and the mental power of the world, cannot but dispel prejudice, dissolve the granite barriers of arbitrary power, bring the world into peace and unity, and at last crown the world with just[ice], liberty, and brotherly kindness.
>
> In every lightning coire [*sic*] may be recognized a reformer. In every bar of railroad iron a missionary. In every locomotive a herald of progress—the startling scream of the engine—and the small ticking sound of the telegraph are alike prophecies of hope to the philanthropist, and warnings to the system of slavery, superstition, and oppression to get themselves away to the murky shades of barbarism. (131)

In all of Douglass's enthusiasm to (re)unite the United States, to leave behind savage violence and savage warfare, to seek progress in advancing technologies, to move ever westward on rails

of iron, he seems unconcerned with the devastating effects such progress reeked on indigenous people. The Indian, it seems, could go the way of the Highlander.[174] Despite all the positive good Douglass's narratives achieved for blacks in the United States, in the end, he seems to have bought the American metanarrative wholesale—peace and prosperity belong to the victors once the violent rebellion is safely ensconced in the past.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

In 1892, Frederick Douglass was preoccupied with two concerns: lynching in the United States and the World's Columbian Exposition, set to open in Chicago in 1893. Douglass found himself embroiled in both because the policies enacted during Reconstruction allowed for physical and political violence to continue against members of the black community, and because he had been chosen "as commissioner for Haiti to the Chicago Exhibition" (Blight 718). These two concerns—horrific violence against people of color, and the ways people of color would be included in (or elided from) representation at a World's Fair—serve as fitting concerns to conclude this study as they demonstrate that the struggle over who controlled bodies and their movements, and who controlled the narratives people told about themselves and others had not been settled by the American Civil War. Douglass combines these two concerns in an essay, "Lynch Law in the South," published in the *North American Review* in July 1892 when he writes: "The frequent and increasing resort to lynch law in our Southern States, in dealing with alleged offences by Negroes, marked as it is by features of cruelty which might well shock the sensibility of the most benighted savage, will not fail to attract the attention and animadversion of visitors to the World's Columbian Exposition" (746-47). Here, near the end of Douglass's life, he was still fully immersed in Scottish Enlightenment thinking, legitimately concerned about the violence black Americans continued to experience but also thinking about what the civilized world would think if they saw the violence of white Americans, a violence "which might well shock the sensibility of the most benighted savage."

The World's Fair had been named the Columbian Exposition to commemorate the four hundredth anniversary of Christopher Columbus's landing on the shores of North America.

While the usual setbacks that plague coordination of such events delayed the original opening from 1892 until 1893, Columbus's name remained associated with the spectacle. Naming the fair in honor of Columbus, of course, signaled the organizers' belief that the glory of North America began with a white male. About the Columbian Exposition, David W. Blight writes:

> The great theme of the fair was 'progress' and the onward march of civilization, categorized and displayed in racial and ethnic hierarchies, as well as machines and technology . . . The fair drew people to the idea of immensity, to artistic beauty, to a vision of the United States as gleaming and unified a mere twenty-eight years after its Civil War, to the experiences of collective play in a circus atmosphere, and to the fascination with categories of racial types as well as inferior and superior cultures. (725)

In other words, the ideals of the Scottish Enlightenment were made manifest in the United States' heartland near the turn of the twentieth century with its emphasis on progress, "racial and ethnic hierarchies," and the implication that some people had advanced further along the stages of civilization than others.

Even though Washington Irving had been dead for over thirty years in 1892, his work was used to promote the Columbian Exposition. An enterprising group of American publishers, called Lum Smith Publishing House, released "An Absolutely Complete Columbus Memorial A.D. 1492—A.D. 1892," titled *The Discovery and Conquest of the New World*, which contained Washington Irving's *The Life and Voyages of Christopher Columbus* (originally published in 1828), William Robertson's *The Conquest of Mexico and Peru,*[175] and *A Perfect History of the United States,* a collection of works compiled by Benjamin Rush Davenport.[176] An advertising campaign developed by the Pacific Publishing Company offered a "free round trip ticket to the

World's Fair," in ads soliciting agents to sell the book, which appeared throughout cities in the United States during the summer of 1892.[177] The circulation of Robertson's work, over a hundred years old by 1892, in service of attempting to create a definitive metanarrative of white discovery and settlement of North America demonstrates the enduring influence of Scottish Enlightenment ideals, especially Robertson's purported belief in a stadial view of history. And, the publisher's decision to juxtapose Irving's text with Robertson's suggested that Irving had been an historian working in the same tradition as Robertson.

The introduction to *The Discovery and Conquest of the New World*, written by Murat Halstead, calls Irving "the North Star in the Literary firmament . . . the guiding star of many compassless wanderers seeking that which is purest and best in the English language—who shed undying lustre upon the literature of America" (x). Halstead heaped paragraphs of praise on Irving, but was measured in his praise of Robertson—admiring his "stubborn Scottish spirit" twice (xiii and xiv) and emphasizing Robertson's restraint from too much "disquisition and learned research" (xiii), and his ability to "[resist] the temptation to stray into the realm of speculation" (xiii). Whereas Halstead praised Irving, the writer, and Columbus, the explorer, little is mentioned about Robertson or any reasoning why his narrative would be included. Halstead does make explicit the purpose of the text: "It behooves the youthful American, in considering the History of the United States, to 'tread lightly; 'tis holy ground here.' In the sanctuary of your soul embalm the deeds of those who bequeathed to you Liberty and Self-government" (xiv). He then moved backwards from the American Revolution to briefly recount the triumphs of EuroAmericans, overlying the language of the Scottish Enlightenment onto the American conquest metanarrative: the pilgrims triumphed by "contending with savage hordes, struggling against strange conditions of climate and soil; victorious at last in the contest against

natives and nature" (xiv). He also adopted the typological view of history in words that the Mathers themselves could have written: "Creation of the Constitution, to the young American as holy as the Word of God given to Moses on Mount Sinai, for upon that Rock we and our descendants shall build everlasting prosperity and glory" (xiv). *The Discovery and Conquest of the New World* demonstrates ways Irving's work and the works of the Scottish Enlightenment continued to circulate thirty years after Irving's death, propagating the triumph of the civilized over the savage, celebrating a prosperous, peaceful nation founded on unspeakable acts of violence.

Readers were informed on the first illustrated page of *The Discovery* that the publishers had "invested $25,000 alone in the procuring of drawings and engravings." And, one would have to admit, the illustrations are indeed impressive and beautiful. They also romanticize the violent past of whites conquering indigenous people while simultaneously celebrating the United States as a civilized Nation in the present. These illustrations foreshadow the treatment living Native Americans received once the Columbian Exposition began. Despite requests made by several groups of Native Americans to be included in the planning and presentation of displays dedicated to the indigenous people of North America, they were excluded from the main Midway, left on the margins in "ethnological villages" (Blight 726). Of course, indigenous life and culture were the focal points of several areas of the Columbian Exposition but only in activities that involved whites playing Indian. "Native Americans," Blight contends, "were paid for their humiliations in a complicated mixture of commerce and racism" (726). The Columbian Exposition, it seems, lived up to its namesake—a celebration of all things denigrating to indigenous people.

Black Americans, too, were excluded from much of the Columbian Exposition's planning and presentations, a slight that prompted Douglass's protégé Ida B. Wells and several other black leaders to write a pamphlet titled *The Reason Why the Colored American Is Not in the World's Columbia Exposition.* Wells, "a young antilynching and civil rights activist" first met Douglass in 1892 and "in her own way reinvigorated the aging leader's career as she also challenged him" (Blight 717).[178] Douglass's introduction to *The Reason Why* includes a remarkable sentence that spans several pages in which Douglass recounts what he wishes he could tell visitors to the Columbian Exposition about America. Included in his list is that "the moral progress of the American people has kept even pace with their enterprise and their material civilization; that practice by the ruling class has gone on hand in hand with American professions; that two hundred and sixty years of progress and enlightenment have banished barbarism and race hate from the United States" (740). At the conclusion of Douglass's wish list, he informs his audience that none of what he hopes for can be said to be true about the United States "without qualification and with flagrant disregard of the truth" because of the Nation's history of enslaving human beings (741).

The Columbian Exposition, while dedicated to telling the story of the United States, served to reinforce the American metanarrative that the United States was a peaceful, prosperous nation built on violent struggles safely ensconced in the past. And yet, the violence continued, especially against Native Americans and people of color. A promise inherent in the Scottish Enlightenment was that the civilized present meant peace and progress for all but, in reality, it meant peace and prosperity for those in power which, in nineteenth-century America, primarily meant white males. Douglass and other leaders in the black community, including relatively unknown ones such as Jesse Ewing Glasgow, strove to rewrite the American metanarrative, to

demonstrate that political violence when used by people of color in the present did not equate to savagery but was rather as much a tool of progress for blacks as it had been for whites in the past. Unfortunately, many black Americans, including Douglass, along with many white Americans, viewed people not engaged in commercial practices as anything other than savage. Despite efforts by many indigenous people to separate themselves from the United States, or to assimilate, as did George Copway, the stigma of the Scottish Enlightenment's savage/civilized dichotomy would not disappear. And worse, writers like Washington Irving were all too eager to pretend that Native Americans themselves had disappeared. Rufus Choate's vision of an American story, based on the structure of Walter Scott's Waverly novels, that would incorporate disparate narratives of all people who inhabited North America and "melt [them] down, as it were, and stamp the heavy bullion into a convenient, universal circulating medium" (337) proved to be prescient. The wheels of progress often destroy anyone who attempts to block the path of those in power.

Notes

[1] Houston A. Baker, Jr. in "The Economics of Douglass's *Narrative*" tracks how the "economies of slavery" are made manifest throughout Douglass's first autobiography as Douglass recounts his escape from enslavement in an economy that relied on violence in order to maintain a system of unpaid labor. Once Douglass liberated himself from this system, he was then able to profit from his own labor. About the publication of Douglass's *Narrative*, Houston writes: "The nineteenth-century slave, in effect, *publically* sells his voice in order to secure *private* ownership of his voice-person" (171).

David S. Reynold's cultural biography, *John Brown, Abolitionist*, provides an in-depth discussion of ways violence was employed by both blacks and whites to resist chattel slavery, while Larry J. Reynolds, in *Righteous Violence*, examines prominent nineteenth-century writers' fluid views towards the effectiveness of violent and nonviolent resistance. The essays edited and collected by Clifton Ellis and Rebecca Ginsburg in *Cabin, Quarter, Plantation: Architecture and Landscapes of North American Slavery* examine compelling ways enslaved Americans may have used nonviolent nonresistance and cultural resistance throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

While numerous historical texts recount the violent interactions between whites and Native Americans, Vine Deloria, Jr.'s *Custer Died For Your Sins* provides a scathing summary of ways indigenous peoples have successfully and unsuccessfully employed methods of violent, nonviolent and cultural resistance, as well as, nonviolent nonresistance from the post-contact period well into the twentieth century. And, while Claudio Saunt's *Black, White, and Indian*, focuses primarily on one multi-racial family, the text provides an illuminating case study on the ways different forms of resistance and nonresistance were employed in the nineteenth century.

[2] In his introduction to Douglass's *Narrative*, Baker reminds readers of Theodore Parker's assertion in 1849 that "we have one series of literary productions that could be written by none but Americans, and only here: I mean the Lives of Fugitive Slaves" (12). "What Parker implies," Baker writes "in his concluding sentence is that the authentic geography of the American imagination can only be mapped by first surveying slave territory" (13).

[3] This event, which is presented with a bit of a flippant attitude, spurred Washington Irving to join the U.S. military. While his stint was brief (three months at the end of 1814) and did not involve any active fighting (McClary xxviii), it does indicate that despite Irving's attempts to minimize political, literary, and cultural differences, he did feel there were limits to Britain's aggression towards the United States. Irving, though, was leery about "patriotism." In his Preface to the 1835 American edition of *The Crayon Miscellany* (which contains *A Tour on the Prairies*), Irving recounts how his European tours caused some critics to question his patriotism. While he is eager to defend his love for his "native land," he asserts "I make no boast of my patriotism; I can only say, that, as far it goes, it is no blind attachment" (xiii).

[4] Contemporary scholars would point to a host of potential early North American candidates and their works: the poetry of Anne Bradstreet (1612-1672) and Phillis Wheatley (1753-1784), David Cusick's *Sketches of Ancient History of the Six Nations* (1828) and others. These authors, of course, would be discounted by most white males in the early nineteenth-century due to racism and sexism.

[5] Earlier in the review, Irving and his *Sketch-Book*, specifically his essay, "English Writers," are referenced. The claim Irving is sympathetic to the *North American Review*'s defensiveness about Smith's critique of America; yet, it is important to note that Irving and his text are referenced as a writer and text that need no introduction. That Irving and *The Sketch-*

Book are household names for American readers and yet are not cited as a specific "better book" being produced in America suggests even those who admired Irving's work were not prepared to declare that the United States had a national literature.

[6] The review is of John Bristed's *Resources of the United States of America*.

[7] Feather contends "In the first two decades of the nineteenth century, four Scottish houses . . . did mount a serious and sustained challenge to London's domination of British publishing. All four survived despite their vicissitudes, and established themselves as major players in the industry" (80). However, London remained the powerhouse of publishing. As Meredith L. McGill, in *American Literature and the Culture of Reprinting 1834-1853,* explains citing an influential pamphlet, *Letters on International Copyright,* by Henry C. Carey which "drew a strong connection between the unification of Great Britain, the consolidation of capital and political power in London, and the consequent impoverishment of Scots and Irish letters" (96).

[8] The Scot James VI, Stuart King of Scotland, became King James I of England.

[9] Sebastiani contends "Dugald Stewart played a central role in shaping the canon of historical reference, to the extent that he has been credited with the 'invention' of the Scottish Enlightenment" (1).

[10] Dugald's discussion of Smith was first published as an appendix to Smith's *The Theory of Moral Sentiments.* The lecture itself was delivered to the Royal Society of Edinburgh in 1793.

[11] H.M. Höpfl posits that Stewart's use of "conjectural history" "may be an unconscious echo of J.J. Rousseau, *Discourse on the Origin of Inequality"* (19 n1). Like most movements, however, isolating a specific moment in time or text is less useful than examining the movement's currents as they spread backwards and forwards (even swirling sideways).

[12] Sebastiani also expands our view of the Scottish Enlightenment, explaining how the empowerment of women in the eighteenth century, a hallmark of commerce, led to anxieties among some men that the "measure of civilization foresaw a process of feminization, which could spill over into effeminacy, if certain limits were exceeded" (134).

[13] See Fredrik Albritton Jonsson's *Enlightenment's Frontier: The Scottish Highlands and the Origins of Environmentalism* and Nathaniel Wolloch's "The Civilizing Process, Nature, and Stadial Theory."

[14] Green reminds us that the concept of barbarians originated with the ancient Greeks who deemed anyone not Greek to be a barbarian, but more importantly, he contends that the very origins of philosophy are inextricable from designations between savage and civilized people as "[t]he barbarians were those against whom Greek Philosophy was developed" (44).

[15] Wolfe refers specifically to the so-called "Five Civilized Tribes"—Cherokee, Creek, Choctaw, Chickasaw and Seminole—indigenous people who, in certain times and places, exhibited characteristics EuroAmericans deemed as worthy of civilized behavior (396). Wolfe also recounts the particularly painful story of Cherokees in Georgia who, despite a written language, a constitution, and agricultural pursuits that often included the enslavement of blacks, were still targeted for removal. For a specific account of ways these policies played out in the lives of a multiracial family (Scots, Creek and African American), see Claudio Saunt's *Black, White, and Indian: Race and the Unmaking of an American Family.*

[16] Early in the twentieth century, the English writer D.H. Lawrence, in *Studies in Classic American Literature*, claimed narratives of "civilized" people's struggles against "savages" was indeed the unique feature of American literature. As Philip J. Deloria explains, Lawrence posits

that "Savage Indians served Americans as oppositional figures against whom one might imagine a civilized national Self" (Deloria 3).

[17] Cooper's novel, *Lionel Lincoln* (1825) set during the American Revolution, was published a year before *The Last of the Mohicans;* in other words, before Cooper's serious foray into work that would indeed invoke Scott's Waverley Novels. It might also be difficult to take the *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* reviewer that Cooper was the "Scott of America" as a compliment since early in the review, he writes: "As a whole, though parts of it are fine, it is a poor book; a very poor book" (323). The reviewer is desperate for an American to write a truly American book and deems Cooper a "dwarf" and a "boy" but one, he hopes, who has the raw material to produce a truly American novel. Hook identifies the reviewer as "John Neal, an expatriate American who contributed a series of articles [to *Blackwood's*] – in which he pretended to be British" (47).

[18] Despite Günter Leypoldt's claim that "no nonspecialist audience today . . . would want to read any text by Scott for straightforward entertainment," he does demonstrate that in Scott's own lifetime that he "became an author's author of sorts, for his transatlantic literary peers considered him a compelling literary innovator who developed new ways to connect narrative with history" (373).

[19] In 1815, Scott had not yet been identified as the author of the Waverly novels, and the authorship of *Guy Mannering* is attributed to "the author of *Waverly*." *The North American Review* reviewer of *Guy Mannering* hints at the suspicion that these are indeed the works of Scott, given that the prose seems "related to some of Mr. Scott's descriptions in verse" ("*Guy Mannering*" 403).

[20] A similar charge against the use of Scots vernacular in poetry is leveled against the poetry of James Hogg in the second volume of *The North American Review* (1816). Hogg's poem, much like Scott's work, offers a romanticized view of the past, set in the sixteenth century and focused on a festival ordered by Mary, Queen of Scots. The reviewer is polite in his praise of the subject matter but again takes umbrage with Hogg's use of "words that no common reader can understand; and if Scotland is to continue to furnish popular poems and romances, the most saleable and useful book that could be undertaken, would be a dictionary of obsolete, unintelligible, and barbarous terms" (Hogg 109). In addition to being a poet, Hogg was also a "a *common* shepherd," something which *The North American Review* devotes a paragraph of the review explaining is an anomaly: "Mr. Hogg is a striking exception, and may be considered as one of the first real shepherds who has ever indulged in poetry; though the pretended ones have deluged us with their insipidity" (103-104).

[21] The Edinburgh edition was published with the title *History of the Discovery and Settlement of North America* while the London editions opted for the truncated title of *The History of America.*

[22] Konkle (10-12) and Calloway (78-79) both provide summaries of Robertson's analysis of indigenous people in North America. While discussions of Native Americans serve as a focal point of Meek's *Social Science and the Ignoble Savage*, Meek contends, "even if the studies of the American Indians had not been available [in the eighteenth century], there was a great deal of literature about other relatively primitive peoples upon which the new social scientists could have drawn—and did in actual fact draw—for the same or similar purposes" (3).

[23] Thomas Jefferson's formative years at William and Mary were shaped by the Scot, Dr. William Small, who Jefferson viewed as a mentor and father figure. Small "brought an

Enlightenment worldview to Williamsburg" (Meacham 17-18). Scottish Enlightenment thinking, though, had the most impact on Jefferson's role as President of the United States and his interactions with the indigenous peoples of North America. Calloway makes the connection between Scottish Enlightenment thinking, Robertson's work, and Jefferson's Indian policies most explicit: Jefferson, he contends, "(who was tutored by a Scot, William Small) knew the Scottish school of thinkers well" (78). Jefferson's Indian removal policies, Calloway, argues "lay in earlier efforts to solve the 'problem' of what to do with Indians and, one could argue, in the writings of Scottish philosophical historian William Robertson" (191).

[24] Nathaniel Hawthorne, long after his literary reputation was intact, attempted to use the American Revolution as fertile ground for an American Romance: *Septimius Felton*. Hawthorne, however, died before the novel was complete.

[25] In the 1927 introduction to Irving's previously unpublished journals, Stanley Williams contends without qualification that "No one believes Washington Irving could have written a good novel" (17).

[26] As Hook argues, Choate recognizes the ways a national identity can be strengthened through the creation of a national literature (49).

[27] In the opening paragraphs of "The Importance of Illustrating New-England History," Choate writes that a National literature could take a variety of shapes but that he "should love to see it assume a form in which it should speak directly to the heart and affections and imagination of the whole people" (320). Choate uses the word "imagination" eight more times in his essay (327, 330, 331, 334, 339, 340, 341, 343).

[28] Maddox also contends that Choate's speech "is more interesting as political propaganda than as a notable document in literary history" (92), a contention with which I

disagree. While Choate did not travel in literary circles nor was he associated with academia, he appears to have been a voracious and careful reader of fiction. While I agree that his argument was ultimately harmful for the indigenous peoples of the United States, Choate, for all his veneration of Puritans, calls Hubbard and Mather out regarding their own narratives: He expresses tremendous respect for Philip, claiming he was called a king in jest, and then he calls out Hubbard and Mather and wishes that their "elaborate jests and puns" about Philip "were erased from the records of New England" (338).

[29] King Philip's War as a unifying narrative meant to inspire white Americans was used as early as the American Revolution "in depicting the British as more savage enemies than the Indians of King Philip's War" (Lepore 187).

[30] Richard Slotkin, in *Regeneration through Violence,* argues Oliver Cromwell's "wholesale slaughter of the Irish and his selling of many into West Indian slavery parallels exactly the policy adopted by the American Puritans in King Philip's War two decades later" (42).

[31] In *Walden,* Thoreau will make a similar move imaging the former enslaved blacks who once inhabited the Walden woods ("Former Inhabitants; and Winter Visitors").

[32] See especially Cotton Mather's *A Brief History of Warr* [*sic*] *with the Indians in New England* and William Hubbard's *Narrative of the Troubles with the Indians in New England*.

[33] If one considers William Bradford's *Of Plymouth Plantation* the genesis of white American literature, then it is clear that the use of typology was employed long before the Mayflower departed Leiden.

[34] The hunter narrative—white men who ventured into the western regions of the United States—served much the same purpose, the only difference being that one group (captives) were

taken by force while others (hunters) ventured off by choice. Slotkin also contends that Mary Rowlandson's captivity narrative "became the model for a tremendously popular and durable genre, which—in semifictional form—was able to contest the literary marketplace on equal terms with the novels of Cooper and Scott, as late as 1824" (63).

[35] The seemingly contradictory idea of a nation within a nation gained legal legitimacy in 1831 with Chief Justice Marshall's contention that Native American populations were "domestic dependent nations," a ruling which Byrd contends "transformed the foreign sovereign status of native nations that the U.S. had previously recognized into the internal domestic within the United States" (136). In addition to Byrd's *The Transit of Empire: Indigenous Critiques of Colonialism,* see also Mark Rifkin's *Manifesting America: The Imperial Construction of U.S. National Space* for discussions of the complexities which surround indigenous peoples and notions of nation.

[36] One way to justify the enslavement of biracial children fathered by white slave owners was the adoption of "an informal one-drop rule," the contention that "anyone with any known trace of black blood was considered black" (Khanna 98). Conversely, indigenous peoples were forced to prove they met a threshold of indigenous "blood" in order to qualify for government benefits. For more in depth discussions of the importance of "blood" and citizenship in the United States, well into the twenty-first century, see J. Kēhaulani Kauanui's *Hawaiian Blood: Colonialism and the Politics of Sovereignty and Indigeneity* and Circe Sturm's *Becoming Indian: The Struggle over Cherokee Identity in the Twenty-first Century*.

[37] During Ralph Waldo Emerson's first European tour, after the death of his first wife, he sought out the Scot, Thomas Carlyle, and other literary figures. Margaret Fuller traversed barriers as the first female foreign correspondent for the *New York Tribune,* which opened doors

for her well-documented European travels. Her transatlantic journeys and work are most closely associated with her coverage of the Italian revolutions of 1848-49; however, she did write about her visit to Scotland, which includes a recounting of a harrowing night she spent lost and alone on a Highlands mountain (Marshall 275-277).

[38] See Copway's pamphlet, *Organization of a New Indian Territory.*

[39] Vine Deloria may have summed up this contentious relationship best when, writing of Europeans, he concluded "When they arrived they had only the Book and we had the land; now we have the book and they have the land" (101).

[40] Native Americans writing imaginative texts for the entertainment of audiences beyond indigenous communities are often ignored. For a fascinating example of such a text, see John Rollin Ridge's *Life and Adventures of Joaquin Murieta: Celebrated California Bandit*.

[41] The legacy of the devastating Atlantic slave trade endured throughout the nineteenth century and, while it informs any discussion of travels by blacks, it is beyond the purview of this discussion. For the physical, psychological, and cultural devastation of the slave trade, see Stephanie E. Smallwood's *Saltwater Slavery: A Middle Passage from Africa to American Diaspora,* Joanne Pope Melish's *Disowning Slavery: Gradual Emancipation and 'Race' in New England, 1780-1860,* and others.

[42] For an account of Douglass's frenetic travels to Canada and then Liverpool after Brown's raid on Harpers Ferry, see Blight 305-309.

[43] Seven generations of men named John Murray presided over the Murray publishing house, and while the Murrays Irving counted as friends and business associates (John Murray II and John Murray III) did not identify themselves in correspondence as "II" or "III," I use the suffixes to distinguish between the men.

[44] Smiles recounts that Irving "induced an American publisher, Mr. Thomas of Philadelphia, to send to Mr. Murray some of the best books published in that country" but that "Murray considered the risk too great, and declined to republish these works in England" (2: 126).

[45] A third essay, "L'Envoy," also appears for the first time in the 1820 Murray edition; it is, however, a brief tongue-in-cheek response to critics of the text, asserting that no one will ever be pleased with the entirety of a collection of works. When Irving decides "To be serious" in the final paragraph of the essay, he perpetuates the notion discussed in the introduction of this study that America is in many ways inferior to England, and that Irving's "deficiencies" stem from the fact that "[the author] finds himself writing in a strange land [England], and appearing before a public which he has been accustomed, from childhood, to regard with the highest feelings of awe and reverence" (*The Sketch-Book* 322).

[46] Years later, in search of consolation after the death of his wife, Ralph Waldo Emerson traveled to Europe, where he found literary inspiration in another Scot, Thomas Carlyle. Like Irving, Emerson also travelled in hopes of improving his health. Martha Schoolman, in *Abolitionist Geographies,* makes a compelling argument that Emerson's "experiences with the itineraries of illness in the 1830s"—i.e. his travels to warmer climes to mitigate tuberculosis symptoms—also influenced his "emergence as an abolitionist in the 1840s" (25).

In *Righteous Violence: Revolution, Slavery, and the American Renaissance,* Larry J. Reynolds argues that Emerson's vacillation between embracing and eschewing violence was often influenced by his own, and others' travels. Reynolds posits that "Margaret Fuller's support of political violence in Europe in 1848-1849 prefigured and influenced Ralph Waldo Emerson's turn to righteous violence in the United States during the 1850s" (56).

[47] Jessica Allen Hanssen argues the text's various genres and narrative voices all coalesce to present a pastoral worldview while C. Michael Hurst argues that through Rip Van Winkle's repetitive storytelling "Irving hopes [to] produce an authentic American literature that can bind the nation together in a harmonious, unchanging whole" undergirded by patriarchal structures (650). Building on Rubin-Dorsky's work, Jane D. Eberwein reads Crayon as Irving's transnational proxy, the voice of the American anxious about national comparisons with Europe while Laura J. Murray reads the narrative voice of Crayon through the lens of other dispossessed populations within nineteenth-century America. David Anthony suggests Irving's decision to publish *The Sketch-Book* was due largely to the fact that Irving was "haunted by the twin specters of credit and debt" (111) and that the text itself is a "nostalgic longing" for a pre-capitalist society (112). Andrew Kopec also examines ways that Irving's failure in the business marketplace informed the identity he crafted as he entered the literary marketplace (709-735). John P. Schlueter, also concerned with ways Irving's biography informs his craft, argues that identifying the narrative voice of *The Sketch-Book* as either the private or public persona of Irving misses the point: Crayon/Irving are interested in "discovering what could be" (285).

[48] Masahiro Nakamura acknowledges the 1814 version of "Philip" but refers to its inclusion in the 1819 *The Sketch-Book* when, in fact, the essay did not appear in Irving's best-known collection until the 1820 Murray edition (132).

[49] Williams's works related to Irving during the early part of the twentieth century is impressive: in addition to editing Irving's two aforementioned journals, he published a two volume *The Life of Washington Irving* (1935), *Washington Irving and the Storrows: Letters, 1821-1828* (1933), *Letters from Sunnyside and Spain* (1928) as well as at least ten articles related to Irving's work in scholarly journals between 1926 and 1945.

[50] The texts that do include discussions of Irving's Indian essays provide a helpful lens through which to consider the ways they circulated throughout the nineteenth-century and beyond, and I will include these later in this discussion.

[51] In the version of "Philip of Pokanoket" published in *The Analectic Magazine* (1814), Irving includes a note that refers to "The Rev. Increase Mather's History" (507), which is in reference to Mather's *A Brief History of the War with the Indians in New England* (1676). Manning also identifies Irving's reference to "one of the homely narratives" as William Hubbard's *A Narrative of the Troubles with the Indians in New-England* (351).

[52] The English poet, Robert Southey, began his Philip epic, "Oliver Newman, A New-England Tale" in 1815 but never completed it. However, in his notes to "Philip" in the 1820 London edition of *The Sketch-Book,* Irving writes: "While correcting the proof sheets of this article, the author is informed that a celebrated English poet has nearly finished an heroic poem on the story of Philip Pokanoket" (334), which Manning identifies as Southey's poem (334n52). For a note on Irving and this incomplete poem, see James L. Wilson's "Washington Irving's 'Celebrated English Poet.'" In 1820, James Eastburn and Robert Charles Sands published *Yamoyden: A Tale of the Wars of King Philip,* which Irving encourages Murray to reprint (Letter to John Murray II [31 Oct. 1820]).

[53] John Murray publishing continued to thrive well into the twenty-first century. In 2002, the imprint was sold to Hodder Headline (N. Reynolds n.p.).

[54] For a brief survey of ways these tensions have continued into the twentieth-first century, including the 2014 Scottish referendum for an independent Scotland, see "The Scottish

Independence Referendum and the Participatory Turn in UK Constitution-Making: The Move towards a Constitutional Convention" by Silvia Suteu.

[55] One of John Murray II's early biographers, Samuel Smiles, in discussing Murray's father John McMurray (or MacMurray; Smiles toggles between the two) simply states "He dropped the prefix 'Mac' from his surname" (*A Publisher* 1: 9). That said, Smiles also recounts that Murray II's father, Robert, was "descended out of the Murrays of Athol," and that Robert "prefixed the 'Mac' to his name; settled in Edinburgh; adopted the law as a profession, and became a writer to the Signet" (1). The name changes of the Murray/McMurray/MacMurray family may have less to do with scrubbing Highland associations and more to do with altering one's name according to what suits one's line of business best.

[56] While subsequent texts would not all become best-sellers for Murray, *The Sketch-Book* did so well that eventually Murray hung Irving's portrait on his drawing-room walls along with the men who Irving so admired: Scott, Bryon, Southey, Campbell and others (Smiles 2: 317).

[57] Smiles contends that Miller printed one thousand copies of *The Sketch-Book* (2: 129).

[58] Not every work Murray published of Irving's enjoyed the financial and critical success of *The Sketch-Book.* Sales of subsequent works fluctuated so much that Smiles quips: "Irving was more successful in selling his books to the publishers than the publishers were in selling them to the public" (2: 261).

[59] This and subsequent letters to Murray III are spurred by a lawsuit Murray filed against Henry George Bohn who was publishing pirated versions of Irving's work in Britain. The pirated editions affected not only Murray's bottom line but also Irving's and his American publisher G.P. Putnam. The three men, along with their legal representation, were attempting to establish when and where Irving wrote his works (especially *The Sketch-Book*); Murray was

especially interested in attempting to establish that Irving was in fact British, a tact Irving was not interested in even though in this and subsequent letters he offered the details of his parent's English births and migration to America. For a detailed explanation of the lawsuit, see McClary 191-202.

Irving's relationship with Murray publishing continues even through poor sales of other Irving works, and Smiles sums up the relationship between writer and publisher as thus: "So great, however, was Murray's personal regard for Washington Irving, and so high was his opinion of the merits of his writings, that he continued to purchase and publish his works though it involved him in considerable loss" (2: 260).

[60] Irving was always a careful curator of the works he compiled—whether his own or others. In a 26 October 1820 letter to Murray, Irving expresses dismay that the poem "The Lay of a Scottish Fiddle" was mistakenly attributed to him. "As I wish to be answerable to no one's sins but my own," Irving writes, "I would take it as a particular favor if you would contradict it in your next advertisement of the Sketch-Book &c."

[61] Additional monographs and pamphlets regarding North American Indians were published in Edinburgh: In 1765, John Gray and Gavin Alston, published the American minister, Jonathan Edwards's "An Account of the Life of the late reverend Mr. David Brainerd, Minister of the Gospel, Missionary to the Indians, from the Honourable [*sic*] Society in Scotland, for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge, and Pastor of a Church of Christian Indians in New-Jersey." And, in 1792, an unidentified bookseller from Edinburgh published *French and Indian Cruelty Exemplified in the Life and Various Vicissitudes of Fortune of Peter Williamson,* including representative chapters such as "Other instances of the barbarity of the Indians."

[62] The manuscript in question is Alexander Hill Everett's *America: of A General Survey of the Political Situation of the Several Powers of the Western Continent, with Conjectures on their future Prospects,* which had been published in Philadelphia in 1827. The text received glowing reviews in *The North American Review,* which claimed "The style, in which this work is written, would alone warrant us in placing it as a mere literary production in the highest rank of English classics" (170). It should also be noted that Alexander Hill Everett's brother, Edward Everett, was the editor of *The North American Review.*

[63] The close of the letter also demonstrates the level of comfort Irving has achieved in his relationship with his publisher: he is petulant in Murray's perceived neglect ("I have been looking for some time past for a letter form you in reply to my repeated enquires"), and is close enough to Murray to end his letter "With my kindest remembrances to Mrs Murray and the family."

[64] Finn Pollard asserts that scholars typically cast Irving and his editorial work at *The Analectic Magazine* as an editor "selecting material at random from whatever came to hand" (84). However, Pollard demonstrates that Irving's personal contributions to the magazine, along with pieces he selected from other writers for inclusion, create a cogent narrative one can trace from Irving's *A History of New York, The Analectic Magazine,* and throughout *The Sketch-Book*; namely an argument that cuts against Jeffersonian ideals of the United States as a unified, finished nation (87-88).

[65] In addition to recording in his journal, his disappointment about not meeting Stewart Irving sent his brother, Peter, several letters regarding the topic. On 26 August 1817, Irving wrote: "Jeffrey tells me I am lucky in meeting with Dugald Stewart, as he does not come to

Edinburgh above once a month" (P. Irving 379), and the next month, on 1 September, in a letter to Peter, Irving again expresses his disappointment of Stewart not being able to attend (380).

[66] All subsequent references to similarities between 1814 versions of "Traits" and "Philip" and 1820 versions will include page numbers from *The Analectic Magazine* first, followed by page numbers from Manning's critical edition, which uses Murray's 1820 version.

[67] The paratexts surrounding Irving's text, as already discussed in terms of the preface to the Revised Edition in which Irving claims affinity with Murray as more than a publisher and Scott as a friend, indicates Irving's attempts to demonstrate that he is a welcome interloper in the world of English literati. The practice of publishing alternate versions of his work will continue throughout Irving's career. For instance, *A Tour on the Prairies,* which was published in 1835, first in Philadelphia by Carey, Lea, & Blanchard (*The Crayon Miscellany. By the Author of the Sketch-Book, No. 1, containing A Tour on the Prairies*) and then by John Murray has two different prefaces. The Philadelphia preface attempts to address, in several pages, the criticism of his European travels, especially by those who "accused [Irving] of a want of affection for my native land" (ix). Irving's description of his return home is described as dream-like, reminiscent of Rip Van Winkle's disorienting experience of waking after a long dream. Irving's fears of being unwelcome when he returns to his "native land" are unfounded, he realizes, when he is warmly welcomed by family and friends. The London edition (simply titled *A Tour on the Prairies*) has only a brief preface that offers a perfunctory introduction of what the text contains.

[68] The Oxford edition of Irving's *The Sketch-Book* reads "Speech of an Indian Chief," while the 1820 London version reads "Sketch of an Indian Chief." While the endnote of the Oxford edition sheds no light on this discrepancy, the editors do explain that the epigraph is "a questionable 'literary rendering.' The famous speech of Logan was frequently rendered by

American writers as a specimen of the noble sentiments of the savage" (350). That said, Peter Jones's *History of the Ojebway Indians* (1861) contains Logan's speech under a section called "Specimens of Indian Eloquence, Wit, and Shrewdness", identifying Logan as "the great 'Mingo chief' (203-204). Since *History* was published posthumously by Jones's widow, Eliza, one could call into question whether this section was included in Jones's original manuscript that he had compiled over the years before his death but, at the very least, there is the suggestion that there is as much evidence confirming the veracity of the speech as there is that it is a fabricated, apocryphal speech.

For a more detailed discussion of references to "Logan's speech" from Thomas Jefferson to William Apess, see Laura J. Murray's "The Aesthetic of Dispossession: Washington Irving and Ideologies of (De)Colonization in the Early Republic." Donald Smith also presents Logan as an historical figure in *Sacred Feathers* (170).

[69] "Then the king will say to those at his right hand, 'Come, you that are blessed by my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world; for I was hungry and you gave me food, I was thirsty and you gave me something to drink, I was a stranger and you welcomed me, I was naked and you gave me clothing, I was sick and you took care of me, I was in prison and you visited me'" (*Lutheran Study Bible*, Matt.25.34-36).

[70] The concept of liminal spaces, as Shoemaker explains, derives from anthropology, especially the work of Victor Turner (Shoemaker 59).

[71] Among the discrepancies between these two versions, some appear minor, changed for de-emphasis ("hideous appellations" vs "appellations") while others make sense regarding audience ("aborigines of this country" for an American audience; "aborigines of America" for an English one).

[72] Rifkin reminds readers that these are also contemporary concerns as he recounts the 2005 *City of Sherrill v. Oneida Indian Nation* U.S. Supreme Court ruling in which Justice Ruth Bader Ginsberg cites the "impossibility doctrine" in denying the Oneidas Indians certain land rights: "Ginsberg invokes the 'impossibility doctrine',' which refers to the 'impracticability of returning to Indian control land that generations earlier passed into numerous private hands" particularly given its likely 'disruptive' effects in light of the 'justifiable expectations' of non-Indian residents" (Rifkin 3-4).

[73] Pan Indian descriptions are typically used for nefarious purposes, an effort to diminish differences between groups and tribes in order to reinforce stereotypes. For a discussion of ways some Native Americans reclaimed pan Indianness in the twentieth century, especially in urban settings, see Nicolas G. Rosenthal's *Reimagining Indian Country: Native American Migration & Identity in Twentieth-Century Los Angeles.*

[74] Some might argue that the insertion of "religious" is hardly minor, and the clarification that the "persecution" was specifically regarding religious freedom might, in Irving's estimation, diminish any residual ill will an English audience might feel so close to the conclusion of the War of 1812.

[75] I believe Irving's *Notes* contains the seeds of a potential novel Irving had in mind writing regarding King Philip's War or, at the very least, a novel based on Native Americans, mainly because many of the notes associated with Indians do not appear in the revised 1820 version. The general consensus among scholars, from Irving's contemporaries (as noted in the introduction) to the present, is that Irving's skills did not lend themselves to writing novels. A rare exception can be found in a review in *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* shortly after the 1820 *The Sketch-Book* appears; the writer wishes Irving would "favour us with a series of novels,

on the plan of those of Miss Edgeworth, or, if he likes that better, of the author of Waverly, illustrative of the present state of manners in the United States of America" ("Diedrich" 368). The anonymous reviewer's faith in Irving is impressive as she or he suggests twenty novels should do the trick. Williams contends, without qualification, that "No one believes Washington Irving could have written a good novel" (*A Tour* 17). While Williams doubts the quality of a potential Irving novel, he does make a compelling case that the rough fragments of a narrative called "The Story of Rosalie" in *A Tour in Scotland* was an idea for a novel. About the ten pages of narrative fragment, Williams writes: "This collection of puzzling notes is apparently the rough draft of a novel, and so has unusual significance in a study of Irving. It is evident from this notebook, and from hints elsewhere, that Irving, known as an essayist, experimented in the form of the novel as well as in that of the drama" (93).

[76] For a detailed explanation of witchcraft in the early American colonies, including examples of the English conflating Indians with witches, see Stacy Schiff's *The Witches: Salem, 1692* (18).

Nathaniel Hawthorne, of course, created the most lengthy narrative that conflated witchcraft, Indians, Puritans and zealots, past and present, in 1850 with *The Scarlet Letter*. See Larry J. Reynolds's *Devils & Rebels: The Making of Hawthorne's Damned Politics.*

[77] The Astor connection also further illustrates how Irving continued to make connections between writers/texts and the Murrays throughout his lifetime. In1840 Irving writes a letter introducing Murray to Charles Bristed, a "friend and countryman," whom Irving mentions is the grandson of the celebrated John Jacob Astor. Though Irving does not make an appeal for Murray to read Bristed's work, he does mention that Bristed has already shown "literary talent"

(Letter to John Murray II [1 Oct. 1840]). In 1852, Bristed published *Five Years in an English University* (Putnam) based primarily on his studies at Cambridge.

[78] This is the same article in which the reviewers call upon Irving to "favour us with a series of novels, on the plan of Miss Edgeworth, or, if likes that better, of the author of Waverly, illustrative of the present state of manners in the United States of America" (368). The editors also claim "for in spite of the shoals of bad books of travels that have inundated us from time to time, no European reader has ever had the smallest opportunity of being introduced to anything like one vivid portraiture of American life" (369).

[79] Ben Harris McClary contends in a footnote to this letter that Henry "Schoolcraft abandoned this pretentious title" and instead published it as the six volume *Historical and Statistical Information. . . .* (McClary 177n61). However, in a lengthy article about Schoolcraft that appeared in 1845 in *The American Review,* the writer declares: "a specimen sheet was issued of an extended work, to be called 'Cyclopædia Indianensis,' and designed to embrace every thing that can be known about the race. Such a work would be invaluable—to those, certainly, who take any interest at all in the subject; and it ought to meet with encouragement. As it has never appeared, we suppose the encouragement was not afforded, nor any prospect of it,—an issue which does not redound greatly to the honor of the community" ("Mr. Schoolcraft's" 90).

An extant copy, along with seventeen other works by Schoolcraft, is also listed in the "most important books" of Thomas W. Field's impressive collection of works on Native Americans which were to be auctioned in New York in 1875. The auction catalogue provides more insight as well, adding the subtitle "Or a General Description of the Indian Tribes of North and South America. Comprising . . . The whole Alphabetically Arranged." It also lists 16 pages and the preparer of the catalogue adds "Issued as the prospectus of a contemplated work in two

volumes, of seven hundred pages each, of which this is the only portion printed" (*Catalogue* 296).

[80] In *Mississauga Portraits,* Donald Smith counts Schoolcraft of one of "the leading Anglo-American literati of the day," (165-166) that were acquaintances with George Copway.

[81] The text is listed again under "Americana" with the same description "*illus. by Capt. S. Eaton: 278 plates and 9 woodcuts, 5 vols.*" (50). However, there must be two copies for sale because the second hand copy is listed for four pounds while this one is listed for 5 pounds.

[82] The Rice Lake area, like a vast amount of indigenous land in the nineteenth century, became a contested territory of land between the British colonizers and indigenous inhabitants. In 1818, the year Copway was born, the Rice Lake Treaty purportedly "transferred nearly two million acres of land centered on Rice Lake" to the British while "the Mississauga believed that they retained all islands, points, and land at river mouths" (D. Smith, *Mississauga* 167). While this was the oral agreement between the British and the Mississauga, "[t]he written document, in English, omitted this."

It would be most accurate to refer to the subject of this chapter as both "Kahgegagahbowh" and "George Copway" each time he is referenced since the public writings of this author almost always identifies him by both names (see title pages of all his published work). For ease of reading, however, I have chosen to primarily refer to him as George Copway based on a glimpse of how he viewed himself in his private life. In an unpublished letter to his father, which can be found in the Library of Congress, dated 3 March 1858, Copway thanks his father for sending money and apologizes for not writing more frequently. This private correspondence is written in English, addressed to "Dear Pa," and signed "your affectionate son, George Copway," which suggests even when nothing was publically at stake in whether he

presented himself as more or less Indian, he thought of himself in English, as a son named George Copway (Copway G., Letter to Chief John Copway).

[83] Copway's collaborative work as a translator was deemed worthy of preservation. *Minuajemouin Gainajimot au St. Luke* by S. Hall and George Copway, published in Boston in 1837, was included in the library holdings of the American Philosophical Society (*Proceedings* 76), "bequeathed to the Society by its late President, Peter S. Du Ponceau" (69).

[84] For a complete rendition of Copway's legal and financial troubles, see Donald B. Smith's *Mississauga Portraits* (182-185) and "Kahgegagahbowh—Canada's First Literary Celebrity in the United States" (23-59).

[85] In 1850, Copway republished his memoir under the title *The Life, Letters, and Speeches of Kah-Ge-Ga-Gah-Bowh* (D. Smith, *Mississauga* 195).

[86] See Smith *Mississauga* 189.

[87] The Peace Congress consisted of mainly like-minded individuals from European countries, the United States, and Canada who met four times between 1848 and 1851 in order to consider "propositions advocating international arbitration, general and simultaneous disarmament, a congress of nations, an international court, and various measures designed to facilitate international communication" (Tyrrell 75).

[88] In addition to these works, Copway also published, under his name, *The Ojibway Conquest* (New York 1850), an epic poem written by Julius Taylor Clark and given to Copway in order to assist with Copway's fund raising efforts for the cause of Indians (D. Smith, *Mississauga* 191).

[89] For more detailed discussions of Copway's work as spiritual confession and/or slave narrative, see Ruoff "The Literary and Methodist Contexts of George Copway's *Life,*

Letters and Speeches" in introduction to *Life, Letters, and Speeches,* (2-3); Peyer *The Tutor'd Mind: Indian Missionary-Writers in Antebellum America* (237-242); and Smith *Mississauga Portraits: Ojibwe Voices from Nineteenth-Century Canada* (187).

[90] See Morgan "Kahgegagahbowh's (George Copway's) Transatlantic Performance: Running Sketches, 1850" (539) and Konkle *Writing Indian Nations: Native Intellectuals and the Politics of Historiography, 1827-1863* (162).

[91] Granted, one could argue Deloria ignores Copway because Deloria's focus is primarily on the United States. However, as I argue later in this chapter, Copway claimed the United States as one of his "native lands" as much as any other space about which he writes. Morgan asserts that after Copway's incarceration on embezzlement charges in 1846, Copway "quickly refashioned himself as an American-based advocate for Aboriginal rights" (528).

[92] Copway, of course, was one of many nineteenth-century indigenous people who donned traditional dress when speaking or performing for white audiences. However, this practice did not seemingly wear on him as it did for his mentor and friend, Peter Jones who, early in his career "Cheerfully, for almost a year, . . . regularly dressed up in his Indian costume," (D. Smith, *Sacred* 126), a costume that later in life he referred to as an "*odious* Indian Costume" (204).

[93] Scholars tend to agree that Elizabeth had a hand, to some degree, as Copway's editor. Donald B. Smith, while acknowledging "no doubt [Copway's] well-educated wife helped," asserts that "the identity of the person who helped George Copway with his autobiography remains unknown" (*Mississauga Portraits* 186). Kevin Hutchings makes the most definitive claim when he contends Elizabeth Copway "very likely collaborated" with her husband on all his works (218). For evidence, scholars typically point to Copway's "A Word to the Reader" at the

beginning of *Life/Recollections,* in which Copway writes: "An unexpected opportunity occurred of submitting my manuscript to a friend, who has kindly corrected all *serious* grammatical errors" (xi). Elizabeth was certainly a capable writer; she was a poet in her own right, evidenced by the poem titled "God Seen Everywhere," which appeared in the 7 March 1855 edition of *The American Patriot,* published in Clinton, Louisiana. No other information accompanies the poem and, though its setting is nonspecific, these representative lines bear the hallmarks of both the romanticism and veneration of nature that readers find in her husband's texts: "On the mountain's lofty summit,/In the deep and dark ravine,/In the wild and verdant forest,/God is love and God is seen" (1). If Elizabeth indeed collaborated on all her husband's texts, she would be in good company with Peter Jones's wife, Eliza, who helped shepherd his *History of the Ojebway Indians* into posthumous publication, and Jane Schoolcraft who likely contributed to the numerous published works of her husband, Henry Schoolcraft. If Elizabeth was indeed an uncredited contributor, she would also share this in common with Eliza and Jane. If we take Copway at his word, however, he insists (at least for *Life/Recollections*): "The language (except a few short sentences), the plan, and the arrangement, are all my own" (xi).

[94] The first chapter of *Recollections* begins with a short poem by P.M.W. (Prosper M. Wetmore). A version of the poem with slightly different punctuation marks and an additional concluding couplet can be found in Wetmore's collection, *Lexington, with Other Fugitive Poems,* published in New York in 1830. The title poem, "Lexington" as the book's name suggests, is a lengthy work about a fugitive slave. It seems unlikely Wetmore enjoyed much success abroad, and did not receive much respect at home: In *Truth, a Gift for Scribblers,* William J. Snelling writes: "'Lexington' was pronounced the best of a number which were written for a prize of fifty dollars. What must the worst have been?" (60).

[95] Over sixty libraries in the United States have a copy of either the 1848 or 1879 edition of *A Dictionary of Poetical Quotations*. Copies are also housed in The Universiti Malaysia Kelantan in Malaysia, De La Salle College of St. Benilde in the Philippines, the American University of Sharjah in the United Arab Emirates, McGill University in Quebec, and within the Library and Archives of Ontario, Canada. The only extant copy I have been able to locate in the United Kingdom is housed in the University of St. Andrews Library's special collections. According to the Special Collections librarian at the University of St. Andrews, their 1848 edition has two bookplates. The first reads "This book was presented to the Library in memory of John Rollo, Esq. of Rodney Lodge, Perth and Edgecliff, St. Andrews. 1934" (Harding).

[96] After Gilpin left the world of publishing, he served on the boards of several institutions. His activities as chair of shareholder meetings for the Metropolitan and Provincial Bank are recorded in *The Economist* from 1864 through 1867. He also served as chairman of the National Provident Institution and as a board member of the Metropolitan Railway in the early1870s.

[97] Weaver recounts how the "Yamacraw mico, or chief, Tomochichi," in 1734 traveled as part of a delegation who traveled to England. William Wake, the archbishop of Canterbury, asked the delegation what the English could do for the indigenous people of North America. Tomochichi responded with a list of practical educational and economic requests. "Education," Weaver contends, "was always at the forefront of any conversations the mico had with Englishmen" (22).

[98] Among the titles in Gilpin's catalogue is Copway's *The Traditional History and Characteristic Sketches of the Ojibway Nation.*

[99] Another review of a text Gilpin published, "Memorials from Ben Rhydding, Concerning the Place, its People, its Cures" appears in the 15 May 1852 issue of *The Economist.* The text is a testimonial from an opiate addict who was cured by "hydropathy"—the review spends most of the space in the review extolling the many virtues of water before concluding "We do not, therefore, repudiate the water cure, though it is very likely it may be perverted to quackery and fortune making" (544).

[100] So successful were these two acquisitions that when the Blacks "moved to London in 1891, [they] published no fiction other than Scott, and largely survived on the profits of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*" (Feather 161).

[101] In 1850, Gilpin, Black, and J.P. Gilpin published *The Life, Character and Genius of Ebenezer Elliott, The Corn Law Rhymer* by January Searle (George Searle Phillips).

[102] In addition to sharing the lecture circuit to speak about trade laws and taxes, Gilpin and Cobden also attended events to speak against the death penalty. In a letter to the editors of *The Times* (21 Nov. 1849), Gilpin writes to correct a misprint about attendance at an anti-death penalty meeting the day before. Gilpin's letter is accompanied by a note from Cobden.

[103] Some of the differences between the U.S. and British editions are minor. For instance, late in the book when Copway recounts his travels through the Northeast United States, he adds to the British edition, an explanatory footnote about his habit of addressing the men he befriends: "My English friends will, I hope, excuse me for calling all good people that I have met 'Brother" (though this apology may not be required by many, yet it is necessary with some) for God is my father, and every man a brother" (*Recollections* 106).

[104] For a rendition of Jones's visit with the Queen, see the preface to Donald B. Smith's *Sacred Feathers.*

[105] "Chippewa" is the anglicized version of Ojibwe, and the term most commonly used by white Americans in the nineteenth-century. Ruoff provides further clarification when she explains Copway was "[r]aised as a traditional Ojibwe (*Ojibwe,* rather than *Ojibwa*, is the spelling currently preferred by members of the tribe in Minnesota, Wisconsin, and Michigan; it is also the official spelling adopted by the Minnesota Chippewa Tribe)" ("George Copway" 43).

[106] The letters and speeches that appear in the appendix to the U.S. edition become the final chapter of *Recollections.* In this edition, we see Copway again asserting himself as an effective agent of change as he introduces the chapter: "The following letters were originally addressed to the newspapers in Boston. I have been requested to give them in this work, with a few of the notices from the editors of the American papers, to whom I owe a great debt of gratitude for aiding me in all that I have done for my brethren" (211).

[107] Throughout the text, Copway attributes each epigram with the poet's initials (even Shakespeare garners a simple "S"); this epigraph is mislabeled with an "A," perhaps in reference to "Addison," even though the *A Dictionary of Poetical Quotations* clearly marks the quotation as "Tickell, *on the Death of Addison*" (456). Similar confusion exists with Copway's attribution of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow's quotation as "H.W.S" (52).

[108] See Acts 9 in the *Lutheran Study Bible.*

[109] Copway often conforms to the expected critiques found in much nineteenth-century, travel writing. For instance, he writes "The Town Hall is a wretched place" (*Running* 283). And he complains about exorbitant prices as many writers of travel narratives do: about the boarding houses of Harrogate, he writes, "They charge all they can get too, and they will not refuse even any amount after you have paid your bill" (*Running* 285).

[110] For a detailed description of the lawsuit, including copies of the letters between Irving and Murray III, see McClary, *Washington Irving and the House of Murray: Geoffrey Crayon Charms the British, 1817-1856,* 193-202.

[111] Harriet Martineau provides another potential connection to Gilpin and Black: in 1850, they publish *Two Letters on Cow-Keeping by Harriet Martineau, Addressed to the Governor of the Guiltcross Union Workhouse*.

[112] The only difference in phrasing comes before the phrase "that he expressed." *The Knickerbocker* entry begins: "It is related in the Biography of Wilson, the Ornithologist" (438).

[113] Jesse Ewing Glasgow, Jr. published his work under the name J. Ewing Glasgow, and his name also appears as "Jesse Glasgow" in other sources. For consistency, I use "J. Ewing Glasgow" unless directly quoting from another source. In places where clarity is needed to distinguish Glasgow from his father (Jesse Ewing Glasgow, Sr.) or the city of Glasgow, Scotland, I use "J. Ewing Glasgow."

[114] While, as I will recount, the structure of J. Ewing Glasgow's account closely follows Robert M. De Witt's *The Life, Trial and Execution of Captain John Brown, Known as "Old Brown of Ossawatomie," with a Full Account of the Attempted Insurrection at Harper's Ferry*, Glasgow's choice to include his own personal reactions to the raid mirrors Henry David Thoreau's "A Plea for Captain John Brown," (1859) in which the first person Thoreau is a constant throughout the speech.

[115] For a history of the Institute for Colored Youth, see Fanny Jackson Coppin's *Reminiscences of School Life, and Hints on Teaching* (1913) and Shelley P. Haley's introduction to the 1995 reprint of Coppin's text. For a brief history of the Banneker Literary Institute, see Tony Martin's "The Banneker Literary Institute of Philadelphia: African American Intellectual

Activism before the War of the Slaveholders' Rebellion" and Eric Gardner's *Black Print Unbound:* The Christian Recorder, *African American Literature, and Periodical Culture.*

[116] The London publisher of George Copway's *Recollections of a Forest Life* (1850), Charles Gilpin, also published William Wells Brown's *Years in Europe: Or, Places I Have Seen and People I Have Met* (1852).

[117] The "Men of Color!" broadside circulated in a variety of formats. Blight includes an image of the broadside as a poster (394), which does not include the men's signatures. The Library of Congress digital archives contains a version with a brief narrative, which includes the men's names ("Men of Color!"). Jesse E. Glasgow's name is the last name on the list.

[118] Garnet befriended John Brown in the 1840s and, after Brown's death, Garnet opened his home for a meeting of black women who agreed to solicit funds to support Brown's family (D. Reynolds 103, 489).

[119] In 1859, Campbell and Martin Delany "formed the Niger River Valley Exploring Party, which was backed by antislavery colonizationists," including Benjamin Coates "the Quaker benefactor of the Institute for Colored Youth" (Sinha 577). Campbell and Delany also traveled to England to raise money for colonization efforts, and to Liberia on a fact finding mission, where they "signed a treaty with the Alake and other ruling chiefs of the Egba at Abeokuta for the land between the two cities" (Sinha 577). In 1861, Campbell published an account of their experiences, *A Pilgrimage to My Motherland: An Account of a Journey among the Egbas and Yorubas of Central Africa, in 1859-60,* and Delany published *Official Report of the Niger Valley Exploring Party.*

[120] According to Daniel R. Biddle and Murray Dubin in *Tasting Freedom,* no charges were ever levied against Bassett (240). Bassett, along with several other leaders of the black,

Philadelphia community, signed a counter petition in protest of a petition sent to Governor Wise of Virginia (who sentenced John Brown to death). The original petition, drafted by other black members of the Philadelphia community, requested the return of the bodies of Shields Green and John A. Copeland, Jr., who were characterized as "miserably misguided" in their participation in the raid on Harpers Ferry. Bassett and others argued that this characterization was "cringing, servile and hypocritical, and a libel against our good sense of manhood" (Foner, *History* 261-62).

[121] Farmer's recounting of William Wells Brown's reception continues: "At its conclusion the speaker was warmly greeted by Victor Hugo, the Abbe Duguerry, Emile de Girardin, the Pastor Coquerel, Richard Cobden, and every man of note in the Assembly. At the soiree given by M. De Tocqueville, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, and the other fetes given to the Members of the Congress, Mr. Brown was received with marked attention" (xxiii). The list of notable people who received Brown parallels Copway's recounting of those he saw speak and interacted with during the Peace Congress in 1850.

[122] About Horton's time at the University, his biographer, Christopher Fyfe, writes: "There were at least two black American students at Edinburgh University at this time, J. Ewing Glasgow and Robert M. Johnson, who concerned themselves with publicizing the abolitionist cause" (35-36). Even though Robert M. Johnson is referenced in both *The Black Abolitionist Papers* and in Fyfe, little extant information exists regarding his life or activities beyond attending the University of Edinburgh.

[123] I attempted to locate Glasgow's burial site in June 2018. The staff at the National Archives of Scotland were helpful in deciphering the handwriting on Glasgow's death certificate and attempting to determine where he might be buried. They directed me to the oldest cemetery

in the city of Newington, a town north of Edinburgh. The East Preston Street Burial Ground, however, had no graves marked "Glasgow."

[124] No. 10 Hill Place Edinburgh is now a hotel named, Ten Hill Place Hotel in the Surgeons Quarter.

[125] The source of the digital text is listed as "the Mitchell Library in Glasgow, Scotland"; however, in a correspondence with the curator of the Special Collections of the Mitchell Library, Ellen Sykes, I was informed that the publication cannot be located (Sykes).

[126] Given that the Murray surname is so common, references to a "Thomas Murray" without the inclusion of "& Son" are difficult to definitively assign to one single Thomas Murray. However, it is interesting to note that the collected *Letters of David Hume, and Extracts from Letters Referring to Him,* was edited by a Thomas Murray and published in Edinburgh by Adam & Charles Black in 1841 (Livingston 178).

[127] The poem itself was hailed as "a vigorous and well-written poem," but mainly because it compares favorably to the "wearisome and sickening inanity" of poems about Robert Burns that "continue to flood the world" (298). The 1890 edition of *Modern Scottish Poets* includes two additional poems written by Macphail: "Address to the Comet of 1882" and "The Spirit's Farewell to its Body," both of which evoke a sense of terror regarding death. The persona of "Address" sees the comet of 1882 as a portent of death, and the persona of "The Spirit's Farewell" dwells on the horror of contemplating one's corpse being buried in the ground. These poems may reflect some of the difficulties Macphail encountered in the later part of his personal and professional life. The biographical sketch included in the 1883 *Modern Scottish Poets* informs readers that "pecuniary difficulties caused [Macphail] to give up business, and to emigrate to Australia many years ago, where his literary friends soon lost sight of him, nor are

they able to say if he is still alive" (298). By 1890, however, the editors of *Modern Scottish Poets* report that Macphail found work with the General Post Office in Melbourne but that he, in fact, died in 1883 (49).

[128] A second biographical sketch of Myles Macphail appears in the 1890 *Modern Scottish Poets* Series, which credits his brother, William, as a cofounder of the magazine "bearing their name" ("Myles Macphail" 49). However, neither sketch names the magazine itself: a "Miles Macphail" is referenced in *Reminiscences of Booksellers and Bookselling in Edinburgh in the Time of William IV* as a "publisher of *Macphail's Magazine* and of books issued against the Free Church of Scotland—for the most part, books nicely printed and well got up, but limited in circulation" (*Reminiscences of Booksellers* 35).

[129] *The Church of Scotland Pulpit* lists no editor on its title page. The publishers, as noted above, are Myles Macphail in Edinburgh and Simpkin and Marshall in London. Following the title page, William Macphail is listed as the text's printer. The text begins with an "Advertisement," which serves as a brief introduction in which "the Publisher" thanks the clergy who contributed to the volume, and the public who supported it (iii).

[130] Here, Glasgow quotes directly from De Witt, though the quote is unattributed. In "A Plea for Captain John Brown," Thoreau contends that Brown "was one of that class of whom we hear a great deal, but, for the most part, see nothing at all,–the Puritans . It would be in vain to kill him. He died lately in the time of Cromwell, but he reappeared here" (685).

[131] James McCune Smith developed a close relationship with Gerrit Smith, one of the "Secret Six." Smith also served as a trustee and land agent for the large parcels of land in New York that Gerrit Smith donated in the hopes that "poor blacks [would] become self-sufficient" (Stauffer 140).

[132] Redpath also published William Wells Brown's *Clotelle, A Tale of the Southern States* (Katopes 28).

[133] In addition to nineteenth-century Brown accounts from De Witt, Redpath, and Thoreau, many of the most notable twentieth century Brown texts were also written by whites: Oswald Garrison Villard's *John Brown,* Stephen Oates's *To Purge This Land with Blood,* Reynolds's *John Brown,* and others. W.E.B. DuBois's *John Brown* stands as the most notable exception. A work of fiction, James McBride's *The Good Lord Bird,* is also worth mentioning as a retelling of the John Brown saga from an African American point-of-view.

[134] For a full account of Anderson's journey north, and the fate of his other companions, see Reynolds's *John Brown: Abolitionist* (370-371).

[135] Nwankwo makes a similar argument in *Black Cosmopolitanism* in her discussion of the Cuban poet Plácido, a.k.a. Gabriel de la Concepción Valdés, who was executed by the Cuban government for his alleged involvement in a plot by blacks to overthrow the government. Even though Plácido was not a slave, he was often identified as such by abolitionists in the United States and Britain because a slave rising up to overthrow his oppressors supported the narrative abolitionists wanted to tell (49-50).

[136] William Wells Brown offers more specifics about this planned military-style training in his Brown narrative, "The John Brown Raid": "Nine or ten of [Brown's followers] spent the winter of 1857-8 in Iowa, where a Col. Forbes was to have given them military instructions; but he, having fallen out with Brown, did not join them, and Aaron D. Stevens, one of the company, took his place" (*The Negro* 25).

[137] For a more in depth explication of the differences between Douglass's U.S. and Irish *Narratives,* see all of Sweeney's Chapter 1: "'The Republic of Letter': Frederick Douglass, Ireland and the Irish *Narratives*" from *Frederick Douglass and the Atlantic World.*

[138] De Witt's "Notices of Negro Insurrections" mirror Nwankwo's analysis of "The Ladder Conspiracy," in which she argues that the Cuban government's reports of the conspiracy elides mention of any enslaved peoples' involvement, highlighting, instead, men like Plácido who were mixed race. Nwankwo suggests that throughout the nineteenth century, whites feared another Haitian revolution and the idea of a global black community.

[139] When Brown spoke of "carrying the war into Africa," he meant the American Deep South.

[140] The New College was founded after the Disruption of 1843, which gave birth to the Free Church of Scotland, a faction of laity and clergy who separated from the Church of Scotland in order to create "a national Church, free from the trammels of state patronage and acknowledging only the headship of Christ" (S. Brown 1). By the early twentieth century, New College faculty merged with the faculty of the University of Edinburgh.

[141] For Glasgow to quote Scott is somewhat ironic if we are to believe Mark Twain's assertion in *Life on the Mississippi* regarding Scott's nefarious influence on Antebellum Southerners.

[142] "It is not the scaffold, it is the crime that dishonours the man" is a paraphrase of the oft-quoted words of the seventeenth-century French dramatist, Pierre Corneille.

[143]In *John Brown: Abolitionist,* David S. Reynolds recounts a funeral procession similar to the one Glasgow presents (398).

[144] Glasgow's inclusion of the hordes of mourners who greet Brown's funeral procession anticipates Lincoln's funeral procession and its many depictions in the press. In *Black Print Unbound,* Gardner summarizes one such account from the *Christian Recorder* as emphasizing "that Black Americans were the alpha and the omega of the Lincoln's [sic] funeral procession" (218).

[145] The most recent Douglass biography, David W. Blight's *Frederick Douglass: Prophet of Freedom,* is the 2019 Pulitzer Prize winner in History, attesting to peoples' enduring interest in Douglass's life and work.

Even Douglass himself was not adverse to high praise for his rhetorical skills. In the footnote to the "Appendix Containing Extracts from Speeches, etc." in *My Bondage and My Freedom* (1855), the editors include this note: "Mr. Douglass' published speeches alone, would fill two volumes of the size of this. Our space will only permit the insertion of the extracts which follow; and which, for originality of thought, beauty and force of expression, and for impassioned, indignatory [*sic*] eloquence, have seldom been equaled" (407). Douglass presumably would have approved of this note given, as will be discussed later in this chapter, the editorial control over his work he began to exercise starting in Dublin in 1845 and continuing throughout his life.

[146] Blight admits that the claim that Douglass, along with Mark Twain, traveled more than any other nineteenth-century Americans would be difficult to quantify (xiv).

[147] I limit my use of "criticism" here to twentieth- and twenty-first century criticism of Douglass's work with the understanding that he received a constant stream of personal, and often racist, criticism about his life and work during the nineteenth century. For example: "William Robinson, who wrote for *The Springfield Republican,* said [Douglass'] speech ["Lecture on

Pictures"] 'came near being a total failure,' and then mocked Douglass's stature as a preeminent writer and orator: 'a nigger ain't much better than a white man after all!'" (Stauffer, Trodd, and Bernier 116).

An equal amount of criticism was levied against Douglass's personal life, especially in regards to female acquaintances. This criticism often came from those who were otherwise sympathetic to Douglass and his work. For another representative example of this type of criticism, see Alasdair Pettinger's recounting of Richard Webb's correspondence with Maria Weston Chapman in which Webb describes Douglass as "proud, easily offend and susceptible to flattery, or 'petting' . . . which hints that [Douglass's] temptations are not just financial but might also involve a certain sexual waywardness" (78). Webb, in addition to serving as Douglass's host in Dublin, was also instrumental in publishing the Dublin editions of Douglass's *Narrative,* while Chapman organized the annual bazaar for the Boston Female Anti-Slavery Society.

[148] Blight reminds readers that one of Douglass's favorite speeches to deliver was titled "Self-Made Men," "borrowing from Emerson, who Douglass warmly acknowledged" (564).

[149] Pettinger, in an endnote, reprints Douglass's inscription to his copy of *The Works of Robert Burns,* which is housed at The University of Rochester River Campus Library. Douglass wrote: "This book was the first bought by me after my escape from slavery. I have owned it nearly thirty one years and now give it to my oldest son as a keep sake" (142 n2).

[150] In addition to his work as a poet and critic, Gilfillan "was the author of widely read biographies of Sir Walter Scott and Robert Burns" (Pursglove 119).

[151] For a more detailed account of Douglass's visit to Ayr, see Blight (166-167) and Pettinger (151-155).

[152] The dying words of Burns are also included in the 23 October 1851 and the 16 November 1855 editions of *Frederick Douglass' Paper*. The 1851 piece, "Last Words of Distinguished Persons," begins with a four-line excerpt of the two-volume poem, *Night Thoughts on Life, Death, and Immortality,* by the English poet, Edward Young (1683-1765). The first line quoted, "A death-bed's a detector of the heart" sets the scene for a list of the alleged last words of twenty-eight notable historical figures. In addition to Sir Walter Scott's dying utterance, "I feel as if I were to be myself again," we also find the final words of Robert Burns: "Don't let that awkward squad fire over my grave" ("Last Words" n.p.). In 1855, this list appears again with a few additional notable historical figures, and without a poetry excerpt, but the dying words of Burns and Scott are still included.

[153] The question of why Frederick Douglass chose to spell his name "Douglass" rather than use the traditional Scottish spelling, "Douglas," is summarized by Pettinger: "Douglass's biographer William McFeely has suggested that this was the way 'prominent black families in Baltimore and Philadelphia spelled it,' and so he was merely conforming to a standard practice. But it was not just peculiar to those cities. The Federal Census of 1840 shows that 'Douglass's was three times more common a surname in the United States than 'Douglas'" (108).

[154] James Douglas is also the fictionalized villain of Scott's *Castle Dangerous* (1832). At some point in Frederick Douglass's life, he presumably consumed Scott's fiction as "volumes of Scott's works are found in [Douglass's] library at the great house, Cedar Hill, he later built in the leafy outskirts of Washington, DC" (Pettinger 132).

[155] Pettinger points out that many biographers "doubted that Burns really intended to leave Scotland" (136) and Mary Ellen Brown questions whether Burns's plans "had ever been serious" (37).

[156] As has been oft-noted, Douglass briefly considered bringing his family to the British Isles to live permanently. Pettinger contends "[i]f he had, it is hard to imagine [Douglass] choosing to live anywhere but Edinburgh" (171).

[157] Mary Ellen Brown also contends: "Thus one might say that Burns remains the National Poet of Scotland because Scottish literature ceased with him, thereafter yielding poetry in English or in a pale Anglo-Scots or in inferior and slavish imitations of Burns" (34).

[158] The title of this work is sometimes presented as "The Heroic Slave" (most recently, by Blight), presumably as an acknowledgment of its novella length. I, however, follow the lead of Robert Levine, John Stauffer, and John R. McKivigan who, in their introduction to the critical edition of the text, use *The Heroic Slave.*

[159] Blight echoes Stepto's sentiments when he contends Douglass's turn to fiction was "a logical progression in Douglass's evolution as a man of words; he had mastered oratory, achieved fame with autobiography, and now independently engaged the world of journalism" (249).

[160] Jackson reminds readers that "the shift from nonresistance to political violence and radical abolitionism in the 1850s was remarkable primarily for how it manifested in those members of society who would least be expected to be won over by the philosophy: women and Quakers" (83).

[161] Larry J. Reynolds contends that the conventions Douglass uses in *The Heroic Slave* "are standard elements of the antebellum fugitive slave narratives Douglass knew well" (102).

[162] As noted in Chapter 2, Charles Gilpin, who was George Copway's publisher in London counted Kossuth as an influence and a friend. In 1851, Copway attended the "Corporation Dinner to Kossuth," in the United States.

[163] For a complete discussion of Placido's life and work, see the first three chapters of Ifeoma Kiddoe Nwankwo's *Black Cosmopolitanism: Racial Consciousness and Transnational Identity in the Nineteenth-Century Americas.*

[164] John Murray of Glasgow, while perhaps related to, was not associated with the John Murrays of John Murray Publishing discussed in the introduction and chapter one of this study.

[165] Another example of ways Douglass's name circulated throughout the British Isles as a transnational figure is seen in an 1848 publication of *Hogg's Weekly Instructor* published in Edinburgh by James Hogg. The reference to Douglass appears in an article titled "Toussaint L'Ouverture" in which the anonymous author extolls successful blacks, which includes Douglass and "Phyllas Whately" [sic] (99). Neither Wheatley nor Douglass are identified as residents of the United States but rather pointed to as examples of exemplary people throughout the world who, like Toussaint, also happen to have dark skin.

[166] Webster, a senator from Massachusetts, who was regarded as sympathetic to the abolitionist movement early in his career, quickly forfeited this reputation after the *Creole* rebellion. Webster argued that Washington and the other blacks involved in the uprising were murderers, that Great Britain should not have allowed them to go free, and that the British government owed restitution to the slave owners (which was eventually paid). "Whatever Webster may have thought of slavery itself," Levine, Stauffer, and McKivigan recount, "he believed that the Constitution and other U.S. legal documents protected southern slave owners and the U.S. law should be honored on the high seas" (xvii).

[167] Six years later, Jesse Ewing Glasgow echoed the combination of the American and English prefaces to *Autographs for Freedom*: offering the text as a fundraiser for antislavery efforts coupled with a portent of violence. Glasgow writes in his preface that he hopes readers

"may be incited to do something towards securing the coloured man's freedom and manhood in America—if not the way Brown attempted to do so, in one against which they can have no conscientious scruples—by sending through some of the anti-slavery societies that exist throughout this country, contributions" (6).

[168] It is unclear if Perkins was black or white; if white, he enjoyed the privilege of endorsing violence and bloodshed in ways that would have caused Douglass's censure.

[169] Blight recounts that Douglass "delivered a lengthy comparative, racialized rant about Native Americans" in 1866 at the National Union Convention in Philadelphia. (486).

[170] Douglass repeats ideas and, at times, entire passages throughout these three lectures. He also uses the "war whoop" phrase and explains the supposed effect that "the divine harmonies of scientific music" have on indigenous people in 1861 in "Lecture on Pictures," (122).

[171] Ironically, prior to this passage, Douglass criticized the work of nineteenth-century ethnologists and archeologists who worked to demonstrate that blacks were inferior to whites. And yet, Douglass seems to be engaging in similar behavior by using the word "savage" to describe indigenous people.

[172] In Douglass's first published response to John Brown's attack on Harpers Ferry in November 1859 in *Douglass' Monthly,* Scotland , or at the very least William Wallace, is on Douglass's mind: "Wallace was often and again as desperately forgetful of his own life in defense of Scotland's freedom, as was Brown in striking for the American slave" ("Capt. John Brown Not Insane" 161).

[173] In "Lecture on Pictures" Douglass espouses American exceptionalism but also locates the United States along the continuum of progress. He writes: "The United States government is

yet within a century of its birth. It is not old, as we span the lives of nations. It is still in the inner circle of boyhood. It is a big boy, however, and has grown immensely . . . It is great in population, great in wealth, great in knowledge, great in commerce, great in nearly all the fundamental elements of national greatness" ("Lecture" 125).

[174] Douglass delivered a speech, "We Are Here and Want the Ballot Box," on 4 September 1866 at the National Union Convention in Philadelphia. In his efforts to convince white Republicans in the audience that blacks are their equals, he draws an unfortunate comparison between Native Americans and African Americans. Black people, Douglass contends will not "die out like the Indian" (129). He also contends that "there is no resemblance in the elements that go to make up the character of a civilized man between the Indian and the negro." While Indians rejects civilization, in Douglass's opinion, black Americans embrace it. About this speech, Blight reminds readers that "the marketplace for racism was diverse and terrifying in Reconstruction America" (486).

[175] The editors of this text have taken several liberties with Robertson's work. While Irving's is a reprint of a previously published text, no work titled *The Conquest of Mexico and Peru* by W.W. Robertson exists *per se.* The chapters of *The Discovery & Conquest of the New World,* attributed to Robertson are truncated versions taken from his three volume *History of America* (1777). The decision to list Robertson as "W.W. Robertson" is curious since the title pages of Robertson's texts read "William Robertson" or "Wm Robertson." Illustrations which accompany Robertson's text (419, 596) identify the author as what appears to be W.M. Robertson but ostensibly are intended to be read as "Wm." The changes made to Robertson's original text are not mentioned in the preface and introduction by Murat Halstead.

[176] Benjamin Rush Davenport was a white supremacist writer of science fiction, whose turn-of-the-twentieth-century novels include: *"Uncle Sam's" Cabin: A Story of American Life, Looking Forward a Century; Anglo-Saxons, Onward! A Romance of the Future*; and *Blood Will Tell: The Strange Story of a Son of Ham*. About *Blood Will Tell,* J. Michael Duvall and Julie Cary Nerad write: the novel "narrativizes within a northern setting the infamous question, *but would you want* [a black man] *to marry your daughter?*" which marks "white fear of amalgamation as both southern and northern" (59).

[177] Advertisements for the book appear in *The Yakima Herald* (Washington State), *The Weston Leader* (Oregon), *The Coconino Weekly Sun,* and *The Morning Call* in San Francisco, which ran the ad every day from 19 June 1892 through 24 June 1892.

[178] Wells also followed in Douglass's footsteps, embarking on a five week speaking tour of England in 1893. She traveled with "two of Douglass's friends, Isabella Fyvie Mayo, a well-connected Scottish reformer, and Catherine Impey, a wealthy English Quaker activist and editor" (Blight 733). Her lectures about racial discrimination and violence in the United States "succeeded gloriously, especially in Scotland" (733).

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